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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1427

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No. 6, Nov-Dec 1982



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USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No. 6, Nov-Dec 1982 (signed to press 24 November 1982).

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## ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 219-221

### The Soviet Socialist Federation and Developing Countries

R. A. Ul'yanovskiy

The article analyzes V. I. Lenin's and the Bolshevik Party's position as to "national question", Leninist doctrine of the rights of nations to self-determination, international significance of establishment and strengthening of the Soviet Socialist Federation, especially for newly liberated countries.

The author examines ethnic and national relations in developing countries. In Asia and Africa nowadays, as well as in Europe in the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century, there are two tendencies of "national question": one of nation-building and isolation, another of convergence of nations. On the one hand, unresolved "national question", unrealized right of nations to self-determination; lack of democratism, discrimination of minorities and the like are responsible for aggravating ethnic relations and emergence of national movements. On the other hand, economic and political laws dictate the necessity of national and ethnic convergence and unification.

"National question" can be resolved in an appropriate way only when two principles -- self-determination and unification -- are combined.

The Soviet Federation synthesized both principles -- unity and self-determination and ensured an accelerated development of oppressed peoples, prosperity of their economy and culture.

### Solution of "National Question" in the USSR and the Afro-Asian World

An. A. Gromyko

The author stresses that political liberation of nations cannot be a solid one, unless it is combined with transformation of economic equality and surmounting of backwardness. The historic experience of Soviet republics is of great significance for developing countries. The real possibility for peoples which have not yet stepped into capitalist stage to begin socialist construction without passing through the capitalist period was proved by Soviet republics in the

course of foundation and development of the Soviet Union. The article deals with the most urgent ethnic problems in many newly liberated Afro-Asian states.

#### The Economic and Technical Cooperation of the USSR with Asian Countries

I. A. Kulev

The article shows that economic ties of the USSR with Asian countries are based on mutual advantage, respect of partners, non-interference into each other's affairs. The last decades the USSR's cooperation with developing countries had a great influence on global economic relations. The author gives rich factual information on specific character of the Soviet-Asian economic cooperation which is under stable development.

#### Socialist Construction in Mongolia

V. I. Titkov

The article characterizes the main stages of radical revolutionary changes in the Mongolian People's Republic and demonstrates specific features of the socialist construction. Thanks to the all-round disinterested help of the Soviet people and creative application of the Soviet experience in the specific context of Mongolia, the Mongolian people accomplished under the guidance of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party the transition from feudalism to socialism bypassing capitalism. Today, the people of Mongolia are confidently advancing along the lines of further socialist construction.

#### Socialism and Literary Development of Japan

K. Rekho

From the outset socialism was associated with the idea of the spiritual renovation of the world. Tremendous social and historic changes, which occurred in Japan following the October Revolution, exerted profound influence on the creative renovation of the Japanese literature. The article probes into the nature and scope of the transformations of the Japanese literary scene brought about by the October Revolution.

The proletarian literary movement, which came into existence in the early 1920's in conditions of a mounting working class struggle, was an important landmark in the development of Japanese literature.

The Japanese literature of the 1920's and the early 1930's is noted for a growing number of writers which took the side of the Socialist Revolution. Their way to the revolution, however, was a complex and controversial one.

Today, proletarian traditions are being developed by a new generation of democratic writers. The social shifts which necessitate a new approach to life, engender an acute ideological debate over the topic of the working class in the Japanese literature.

The Japanese democratic literature develops in active interaction with the world socialist art, primarily with the Soviet literature. Common ideological and aesthetic aspirations are an objective basis for the fact that progressive literatures are mutually attracted.

#### Tropic Africa: Society in the Mirror of Proverbs

V. B. Iordanskiy

The article deals with the way proverbs reflect the spiritual life of a traditional African society. Value-charged proverbs serve in their own way as a regulator of social relations. At the same time, they summarize the socio-economic experience of the people, controversial as it may be. The article traces the relation of proverbs to such aspects of the spiritual life as myth, fairy-tale and ethic.

The proverbs also are an expression of the social ideal of a personality and of the attitudes of the community males, a dominating group in traditional society, to women, old men, children, power and richness. According to the author's observation, proverbs give prominence to social evaluation of the relationship between an individual and the society.

It is suggested that proverbs are a kind of a foundation of people's world outlook, based on common sense, realism and social experience.

#### British Colonialism and the Indian Stereotype in the 19th Century

N. A. Yerofeyev

The idea of India and the Indian people, which was formed in England of the 19th century, distorted the image of the country, its spiritual life and social psychology. British travelers, civil servants, servicemen and missionaries took no interest in the life of the Indian people, negated its ancient cultural tradition and ascribed to Indians various vices, such as idleness, prejudice, falsity, etc. A new bunch of vices was added to these after the people's revolt of 1857-1859. Groundless as it was, the Indian stereotype served the British colonialism as an argument and *raison d'être* of the British rule and exploitation of the Indian people.

#### Taoist Doctrine of the "Feminine"

Ye. A. Torchinov

It is well known that mythological patterns played an important role in the religious Taoism and in the so-called "philosophical Taoism" of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu. This fact accounts for the absence of any absolute contradictions or gaps between philosophical and religious trends of the Taoist tradition. The article examines the functions of the mythologem of the "Feminine" on different levels of the Taoism doctrine: in the Taoist philosophy, cosmogeny and religious practices of "inner alchemy".

Tao as represented in "Tao-Te ching" can be considered as having the "Feminine" character. The text calls it "the great Mother", "the valley of spirit", "the mysterious feminine", etc. Furthermore, Tao is a great womb of the Universe, which embraces all the phenomena of the world.

The cosmogonic conceptions of Taoism as well as the doctrine of deified Lao-tzu and his revelations are connected with the mythologem of the "Feminine". In the myth of "earthly" nativity of Lao-tzu as incarnation of Tao itself one can obviously see the "transsubstantiality" of Lao-tzu and his mother. Here can be seen the universal theme of the "marvellous birth" (Lao-tzu as the mother of himself). One can discern the probable shamanistic roots of the Taoism "inner alchemy" (the creation of a new "immortal body"). The body of the adept is the "Feminine" body, which contains "immortal embryo" (like Tao in macrocosm contains the seeds of things). The sexual symbolism of Taoism with the passage of time became only the allegory of alliance or "hierophany" (the expression of K. M. Schipper) of yin-yang forces in the "feminine" body of the adept, led to the emergence of "immortal embryo" in his "cinnabar field".

In conclusion the author briefly analyzes the concept of the "feminine" in difference religious systems. The article stresses "chthonic" or "orectic" character of the Taoist mystics and the role of "chaotic order" in it, contrasted with antique "logos" as rational and "masculine" principle.

It is suggested that the mythologem of the "Feminine" was rooted in the social conditions of matrilinear society, reminiscences of which were rather usual in Taoist texts (e.g. see Chuang-tzu).

#### Tajikistan's Historical Experience and Class Formation Problem in the States of Socialist Orientation

Kh. N. Drikker

The article analyzes Tajikistan's experience of transferring its underdeveloped socio-economic structure and socialist development. This experience bears a significant value for Afro-Asian countries of socialist orientation which tackle similar tasks.

Those who began socialist reconstruction in Tajikistan had to take into consideration the difference between northern and southern regions of the country. The northern part has started capitalist development while in the south feudal relations were prevailing.

The author depicts the policy of the socialist state which worked to create a modern industry, to solve land and water problems, to establish agricultural cooperatives, to liquidate feudal survivals. This policy helped the development of class relations, the formation of working class and kolkhoz peasantry. When conducting this policy the reconstructors were keeping principle of gradualness and taking into account specific local conditions as well as old cultural traditions.



## Socioeconomic Program of the Monopoly Capital of India

O. V. Malyarov

Despite the government policy to prevent the expansion of monopoly capital and concentration of economic power (e.g. promotion of the public sector, state regulations of the private entrepreneurship, etc), the Indian economic scene is distinguished by the growing monopoly capital.

This trend became ever more pronounced since after January, 1980. The hectic activity of the big business found expression in a plethora of memoranda, programs, consultations with the government, public pronouncements, etc. "A Minimum Program of Economic Action", issued by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and "Minimum Program for Harmonious Industrial Relations", issued by the All-India Organization of Employers in January 1980 are a case in point.

The analysis of these and other documents shows that the monopoly capital came out to openly oppose the key elements of the government economic policy, which had been introduced in the mid-fifties, i. e. the principle of the public sector occupying the commanding heights, the prevention of the concentration of economic power in private hands, state control over the public sector, etc.

On the other hand, the monopoly capital demands private sector participation in the public sector enterprises ("combination of private management with public ownership"), lower direct taxes on corporate and top-level personal income, higher depreciation allowances, etc. It also seeks to "discipline" workers and cut their real wages.

Recently the big business was granted major concessions. This fact causes an ever growing concern among broad sections of the Indian society.

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## RELEVANCE OF LENINIST NATIONALITIES POLICY TO THIRD WORLD STRESSED

### Right of National Self-Determination

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 11-18

[Article, published under the heading "60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR," by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy: "The Soviet Socialist Federation and Liberated Countries"; passages highlighted by use of italics and/or double-spaced words enclosed in slantlines]

[Excerpt] For more than 60 years now the Leninist nationalities policy has invariably acted as an example. This is clearly visible, tangible, and therefore highly persuasive argumentation. We are dealing with historical experience of enormous value and diversity, which is forced upon nobody and yet at the same time is accessible to all, and which, with today's level of information dissemination, nobody can ignore.

The nationalities policy of the USSR has never been conducted and is not now being implemented for propaganda purposes. It is dictated by the ideals of scientific communism, socialist internationalism, and their congruence with the interests of the peoples which populate our country. But V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party did not underrate the force of influence of the Soviet experience on the destiny of oppressed peoples on an international scale. They realized that faith and trust on the part of almost 80 percent of the peoples and nationalities under the colonialist heel, that is, almost 80 percent of the world's population, in the socialist revolution in Russia would be determined by the extent to which it met just national aspirations and brought the oppression of nations to an end. Precisely in connection with establishment of the USSR in December 1922, in rejecting a scheme calling for "autonomization" of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Transcaucasian Federation within the framework of the RSFSR, V. I. Lenin wrote: "It would constitute unforgivable opportunism if we, on the eve... of action by the East and at the very beginning of its awakening, undermined our prestige with the East by even the slightest heavy-handedness and injustice toward our own people of other nationalities."<sup>3</sup>

V. I. Lenin considered honesty and right-mindedness to be the best means of persuasiveness of the party's nationalities policy. The slogan of self-determination of nations, which Soviet Russia was defending in the international arena, supporting the struggle by the awakened East against imperialism, had to be and

was implemented first of all on the soil of Russia. Lenin placed a firm unity of approach to the nationalities problem and an indissoluble bond between its internal, Russian, and external, international aspect in opposition to the shortsighted pragmatism of Bukharin, who was of the opinion that it was possible to practice one approach to the nationalities question in Russia and a different approach to that same question in the colonies, that while denying the right of Russia's oppressed peoples to self-determination, one could acknowledge that right for the colonies, for in this instance we would lose nothing. Lenin pointed out that our nationalities policy "should be a model for /the entire/ East."<sup>4</sup> "Establishment of correct relations with the peoples of Turkestan is today of enormous, world-historic significance for the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, one can state without exaggeration. The position taken by the Soviet worker-peasant republic toward weak, hitherto oppressed peoples will be of practical significance for all of Asia and for all the colonies in the world, for thousands and millions of people."<sup>5</sup>

It is hardly likely that the nationalities question had been so complex in any other country, had stood out in such sharp relief, in so many aspects, including the colonial aspect, as in Russia, which was distinguished not only by a great ethnic diversity, was a multinational country, with clearly-manifested conflicts between the oppressing nation and the oppressed nations. The nations and nationalities populating Russia were at different levels of sociohistorical development -- ranging from a clan-tribal system to highly-developed capitalism; they professed different religions and spoke more than 100 different languages. Russia's outlying eastern regions, populated chiefly by oppressed peoples, were almost exclusively agrarian areas. Therefore the nationalities question was closely interwoven with the agrarian-peasant question.

In this highly complex situation, even from an ethnic standpoint, and its acuteness was greatly increased by the intensity of the social revolution which was taking place in Russia, by the foreign intervention, civil war, and the devastation which followed in their wake, without question the guiding star for V. I. Lenin and the party was acknowledgment of the democratic principle of self-determination of nations in combination with examination of ethnic problems through the prism of the interests of the socialist revolution.

V. I. Lenin consistently defended the right of nations to self-determination, right up to separation and formation of an independent state -- both in 1903, when this principle was incorporated into the RSDWP Program at his insistence, on the eve of the October Revolution during World War I when, in connection with aggravation of ethnic conflicts, the right of nations to self-determination once again began to be keenly discussed in party programs, and during discussion of the RCP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Program at the 8th Party Congress (defending the principle of self-determination of nations against attacks by Bukharin, who was advancing the far-fetched and essentially chauvinistic slogan "self-determination of toilers"), and in preparing for unification of the Soviet Republic, when he spoke out against I. V. Stalin's proposed "autonomization" of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the TSFSR [Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic] and in favor of a federation of equal union republics. Lenin emphasized that "socialist parties which fail to prove by all their activities... that they will liberate enslaved nations and will build their relationship toward them on the foundation of a free union --

and free union is a deceitful phrase without freedom of separation -- such parties would perpetrate a betrayal of socialism."<sup>6</sup>

But firm acknowledgement of the right of nations to separation by no means signified, according to Lenin, recognition of the advisability of such separation; it "is by no means equivalent to the demand of separation, splitting and the forming of small countries. It signifies only consistent expression of the struggle against any and all ethnic oppression."<sup>7</sup> "We are for the /right/ of separation (but not /for the separation/ of all!)..." wrote V. I. Lenin in 1913. "Separation is by no means our plan. We by no means preach separation. Generally speaking, we are against separation. But we advocate the /right/ of separation in view of the extremely reactionar Great-Russian nationalism, which has so befouled the cause of ethnic cohabitation."<sup>8</sup>

Lenin was well aware of the advantages of large countries and was by no means inclined to sacrifice to narrowly and one-sidedly defined self-determination those economic, political and military advantages offered by maintaining territorial integrity within Russia's borders. He stated in 1914: "We are by no means absolute advocates of small nations; we are definitely, /all other conditions being equal,/ for centralization."<sup>9</sup> Acknowledgement of the right of nations to separation was advanced by Lenin as a guarantee of genuine democracy, but not at all with the aim of separation, but precisely with the aim of unification and rapprochement of the nationalities and ethnic groups of former czarist Russia on a new foundation. V. I. Lenin called for the greatest sensitivity, caution and attentiveness toward the ethnic feelings of oppressed countries and peoples and for making certain concessions in order rapidly to overcome their distrust and prejudices. But he was far from proceeding solely from national feelings in the matter of resolving the nationalities question, even if it were the matter of an oppressed nation. V. I. Lenin did not absolutize the nationalities question. He saw the real social state of affairs in any ethnic problem and examined it from a class position, taking into account the entire aggregate of sociopolitical conditions. Lenin realized that ethnic feelings can be used and repeatedly have been used by reactionaries, who deliberately sought to kindle enmity between peoples, pursuing their own economic or political aims. He advocated a resolution of the nationalities question which would be in the interests of the majority of the population, that is, the toilers, and would fit into the overall struggle of the toilers and exploited for socialism and progress. Lenin could not imagine resolution of the nationalities question beyond this framework, a question which for him had two aspects: a sociopolitical and an international aspect. Both presupposed a clear-cut determination of the role of each national movement in the struggle between the forces of reaction and progress, the former on a national scale, and the latter on an international scale for, as Lenin pointed out in connection with the problem of self-determination of nations, "the demand of democracy must be taken on... a world... scale, not in an isolated manner."<sup>10</sup>

Consideration of the interests of the worker class and all toilers, concern about revolutionary progress, consistent democracy and a striving toward unification, not disunification of peoples -- this is what distinguished Lenin's approach to the nationalities problem, adopted as a basic foundation in establishing the USSR. Not only the general principles but also the form of



unification -- /federation of free Soviet national republics/ -- were suggested by V. I. Lenin. This was an optimal solution to the nationalities question in the highly-complex conditions of Russia. It was both an innovative, unprecedented at the time, application and enrichment of the principle of federation. For the first time in history governmental entities differing on the basis of nationality were parties to a federation. Such a diversity of forms of national statehood and modes of their unification was employed for the first time. There exist two types of federation within the framework of the USSR. One form involves autonomous republics, oblasts, and national (today autonomous) okrugs becoming part of a union republic. The other involves unification of the union republics, which retain the right of secession from the union, a right which was formally stated in definitive form in December 1922. When in the course of preparations for establishment of the USSR V. I. Lenin spoke out in absolute opposition to the idea of "autonomization" and for the equality of union republics, he was defending the principle of diversity of forms of Soviet federation and opposing banal following of the experience of unification of a number of peoples in the RSFSR. The Soviet Union constituted a new type of multiethnic, union, and at the same time indivisible state.

They succeeded in achieving voluntary unification of numerous nationalities and ethnic groups within the framework of a single state on the basis of acknowledgement of the right of nations to self-determination. This took place, as V. I. Lenin foresaw, beginning with the first debates on the nationalities question: as soon as coercion and force disappeared as a basis of unification and was replaced by a voluntary principle, equality and democracy, the right to self-determination did not at all begin to be raised by the oppressed peoples of former czarist Russia as necessary separation. Forms of self-determination were found which made it possible to combine the governmental development of large and small peoples with their more extensive unification within the framework of a Soviet federation -- such as a union republic, autonomous republic, autonomous oblast, and autonomous (national) okrug. The degree of independence differed, which was determined by the entire aggregate of socioeconomic, demographic, historical, and geographic conditions, but they all guaranteed the free development of nationalities and ethnic groups and enabled them to settle for themselves the most diversified problems pertaining to their national affairs.

The secret of the viability of the Soviet federation and its capability to guarantee the unity of its constituent peoples lies in consistent democracy and equality of peoples. Without meticulous observance of these conditions, without careful monitoring of their implementation on the part of party and government agencies, centrally and locally, without conscientious, constant struggle against isolated manifestations of great-power chauvinism, nationalism, and separatism, all legal and political forms would prove to be a fiction. It was a question not simply of political equality; the task consisted in eliminating the actual inequality between the Soviet republics in the economic and cultural areas and in ensuring more rapid economic and cultural development of the national republics and oblasts in comparison with the central areas of Russia. The pace of industrial growth in the national republics greatly exceeded the average rate for the USSR as a whole. Enormous attention was devoted to the development of culture, education, and training of indigenous cadres. The experience of the leading areas was extensively utilized in the outlying regions

of former czarist Russia, but it was not copied blindly and it was not imposed, but rather brought into conformity with local traditions and the local situation. V. I. Lenin emphasized the necessity of always working to gain the trust of the local population: "Win over three and four times: /prove/ that we are not imperialists, that we will /not/ tolerate a /deviation/ in that direction."<sup>11</sup>

Gaining such trust made it possible to achieve solidarity of Russia's multi-ethnic population in the interests of democracy and socialism; it removed the ground from under the feet of those who advocated separation from Russia. In the first years of the revolution our history contained numerous attempts at separatism -- in the Ukraine, in Georgia, Armenia, and elsewhere, but they were doomed to failure, because essentially they were of an antipopular class-political, not national but national-chauvinistic character. These were appeals not for national self-determination but to counterrevolution, to separation from the socialist revolution in Russia. The toiler masses thwarted the schemes of the counterrevolutionaries, who were seeking to exploit ethnic conflicts for their own ends.

The practical business of national-state organizational development in the USSR is of enormous interest for developing countries, because they are faced with those same problems of national self-determination, preservation and development of an economically and politically viable community, which creates the most favorable conditions for guaranteeing genuine independence and progress. In many cases the level of historical development of the Afro-Asian countries which have become liberated from the colonial yoke is generally close to the level at which the peoples of the outlying regions of former czarist Russia found themselves.

Prior to gaining independence by the countries of Asia and Africa, the nationalities question was for them primarily a colonial question. The main problem was bringing to an end political domination and economic exploitation by the imperialist home countries. In these conditions the slogan of the right to establish an independent state, advanced by fighters for national independence, was unconditionally supported (and continues to be supported to the present day in those few places on earth where the most cynical forms of colonial-racist oppression continue to exist) by all supporters of democracy and progress. In those cases where political pressure proved insufficient to force the colonialists to grant independence, national forces were compelled to resort to a liberation war in order to implement the right to self-determination. The armed liberation struggle against the colonialist yoke lasted 25 years in Vietnam, 8 years in Algeria, 11-14 years in the former Portuguese colonies, 5 years in Indonesia, 3 years in Burma, etc, while in Namibia and the Republic of South Africa armed resistance to the racist regime is still continuing today. There is no doubt whatsoever that, supported by international assistance, the indigenous population of these countries as well will succeed in exercising their right to self-determination.

But upon declaring independence, many young nations discovered that the nationalities question had not been eliminated, had not become less acute, and had assumed new forms. Conflicts between different ethnic groups, which had receded to the background in conditions of a colonial regime, erupted to the surface under a national government, when the military-political oppression of colonialism had fallen away, and are complicating the development of many young nations.

The national liberation movement of this century, following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and in particular following the defeat of Nazism and Japanese militarism and transformation of the world socialist system into a decisive factor in international affairs, was developing so swiftly that the establishment of independent states frequently was outstripping the forming of nations. In the conditions of the democratic upsurge of the 1950's and 1960's, the anti-imperialist struggle accelerated the political formation of national forces, even if the attributes of nation were lacking or in an embryonic state. Political independence was being proclaimed not only by nations which had formed or at least were in the process of forming, but also conglomerates of nationalities, tribes, and ethnic groups which were at precapitalist stages of development, in which the process of establishment of capitalism was just beginning. Frequently economic and commercial links between them were extremely tenuous. They had been united only by colonial government administration. At the same time a liberation struggle was being waged and the right to self-determination was being exercised precisely within the framework of colonial territories. If one considers the arbitrary nature of the borders of a number of young nations inherited from the colonial era, particularly the African nations, the mismatch between national boundaries and the distribution of tribes and ethnic groups, as well as the nonuniformity of socioeconomic and cultural development in the different regions of these nations, plus the abundance of different languages and religions, the entire complexity of the problem of ethnic relations encountered by nations which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism will become obvious. But this problem is being resolved and should be resolved today in totally new conditions. This is no longer a colonial problem, no longer actions against imperialism, but rather a problem of the domestic policy of young nations which are beginning their journey in conditions of independence and, as a rule, maintaining or capable of maintaining independence under the condition of genuinely national forces at the reins of power, which is of anti-imperialist significance. Under these circumstances the slogan self-determination of nations takes on different content. It is by no means equivalent to separate nationhood for each nationality. This was just on the part of the peoples of colonies toward the imperialist mother country, the coercively established bond which had to be severed for the sake of free development of the oppressed peoples. But new opportunities appear in conditions of existence of a national government, and new concerns arise with all genuine spokesmen for national interests. Separate nationhood ceases to be an end in itself, while progressive forces bring into agreement the forms of self-determination of peoples and make them commensurate with the interests of the continuing struggle against neocolonialism, which is common for all former colonial peoples, a struggle for establishment of genuine independence, for economic, social, and cultural progress.

Today there are observed in Africa and Asia, just as in Europe in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, two trends in the nationalities question -- toward the forming and setting apart of nations, and toward their drawing together. On the one hand the fact that ethnic problems have not been resolved, that the right to self-determination has not been realized, that there is a lack of democracy, and that there occur instances of discrimination of ethnic minorities and disregard of their interests are leading to aggravation of ethnic feelings and to the emergence of ethnic movements. On the other hand, the laws of economic, and today political affairs as well dictate the necessity of

drawing together of nations, peoples and tribes, their unification, coordination of efforts, overcoming of splintering and mutual alienation. It is a poor politician who would be guided by any one of these trends and who would yield to oversensitive ethnic feelings or, on the contrary, who sought leveling unification, to crush any and all ethnic movements as allegedly in conflict with today's demands of socioeconomic progress.

Genuine resolution of the nationalities question in young nations presupposes combining the principle of self-determination of nations with their unification. In the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century the national state, a state of primarily one nation, appeared to be the rule. World War I and subsequent revolutions disintegrated the last large multinational conglomerations based on inequality and coercive repression. But the 20th century has made multinational states a reality. Its history demonstrates the necessity of such states and at the same time convinces one that they can exist only on the basis of equality and democracy. The Soviet Union was the first multinational state of the contemporary era constructed on these new principles. The Soviet federation synthesized the principles of unity and self-determination. It ensured the unprecedentedly rapid development of previously oppressed peoples, flourishing of their economy and culture, preservation of their language and finest traditions, and at the same time led to the forming of a new historical community of people -- the Soviet people. "New, harmonious relations between classes and social groups, nationalities and ethnic groups -- relations of friendship and cooperation," noted L. I. Brezhnev, "were born in joint labor, in the struggle for socialism, in battles in its defense."<sup>12</sup> This was a logical result of democratic resolution of the nationalities problem.

Similar processes of consolidation are taking place and cannot help but take place in the multiethnic countries of Asia and Africa. There as well, alongside the existence of established nations and the forming of new ones, there are taking place in the course of an anti-imperialist, antiracist struggle processes of interethnic consolidation, stimulated by growing economic, political, and cultural contacts between different peoples. The success of these processes, the degree to which they are painless, and their conformity with the interests of all peoples depend on the degree of democracy of the young nations and their social base.

Any ethnic demand should be evaluated from various points of view. The right of nations to self-determination should always be considered, but in each instance it is advanced in a concrete situation, by concrete social forces, and is therefore filled with concrete political content. A successful, just and stable resolution of the nationalities question is possible only when it is examined in the context of the sociopolitical situation in a given country and throughout the world, if the interests not only of small peoples but also of young multinational states are weighed and taken into consideration.

It is a well-known fact that with the collapse of the colonial system imperialism did not give up its tested policy of "divide and conquer." In the past, kindling enmity between tribes and ethnic groups, between feudal or semifeudal rulers, imperialist powers established their hegemony in Asia and Africa. Subsequently they made every attempt to foster the retention of ethnic, tribal, regional, and religious divisions, preempting for themselves the function of



peacemaker between warring groups and thus inhibiting the formation of indigenous protesting forces. Splitting up the anti-imperialist movement on an ethnic and religious basis was the main strategy of the colonialists. And even when forced to abandon their former possessions, they are inalterably playing the same card, viewing undermining of unity between peoples as the main condition for weakening the young states and preserving their own influence. The policy of British imperialism in India, splitting the subcontinent on the basis of religion, which cost that country incalculable human lives and chronic tension in relations between the states which arose, is a classic example of encouraging and artificially igniting ethnic or even pseudoethnic conflicts in the interests of preserving economic and political dependence. Imperialism and its agents have kindled and are continuing to stir up ethnic conflicts in India, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Angola, and other countries, attempting to link national sentiments with separatism, to exploit them in order to break up young states. Those leaders of national movements who ignore this reality and conduct themselves as if the right of nations to self-determination is exercised not in a domestic and international situation filled with conflicts and contradictions but rather in a political vacuum are pursuing a bankrupt policy.

V. I. Lenin once wrote: "If we are warring with Wilson, and Wilson turns a small nation into an instrument for his own benefit, we say: we shall fight that instrument."<sup>13</sup> The imperialists have always sought to exploit ethnic disagreements for their own interests. Outright subornation is by no means mandatory, although it too is widely employed. It is sufficient for ill-conceived slogans of a national movement, separatist slogans as a rule, to be in conformity with the political requirements of the imperialists in order for genuinely patriotic and internationalist elements to refuse to support them and even be forced to fight them. Was this not the case in the bloody fratricidal war for the detachment of Biafra, which was placing in question the existence of the largest state in Tropical Africa -- Nigeria? How about those puppet, heretical groups operating under the banner of struggle for national self-determination in a number of countries which are being supported by the imperialists (Khalistan in India, the Pol Pot supporters in Kampuchea, UNITA in Angola, the Eritrean separatists in Ethiopia, etc).

In present-day conditions, self-determination of nations by no means equates with and is not necessarily accompanied by detachment and separate nationhood, although such separation is by no means out of the question in principle. One can hardly call mere happenstance and historically unjustified the self-determination of what was formerly East Pakistan as a new state -- the Republic of Bangladesh, in view of the lack of an organic link with West Pakistan and in view of intensified exploitation of the eastern province to the profit of the West Pakistani bourgeoisie and landed gentry. One can scarcely find a different solution to the problem of self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine other than the formation of an independent state. But in most cases, wherever ethnic inhomogeneity is not connected with the outright repression of minorities, where it is not the result of artificial unification, it is essential to seek means of resolving the nationalities question which would make it possible to retain all the advantages of large multiethnic states and would ensure complete freedom and equality to all the peoples inhabiting them.

The experience of the USSR is of enormous value in this respect. It is not mere happenstance that the Soviet multinational federation has attracted and continues to attract the attention of peoples which have become liberated from colonialism, and some of them, India in particular, have used a federative structure as a means of resolving the nationalities question. The USSR has demonstrated a diversity of genuine forms of self-determination of large and small peoples, ensuring genuine equality and democracy. In conditions of a union multinational state, self-determination of peoples has become a means of unification, not isolation, a powerful factor of progress for our country and the entire world. Herein lies the lasting international significance of the experience of Soviet federation.

#### FOOTNOTES

3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 45, page 362.
4. Ibid., Vol 53, page 105.
5. Ibid., Vol 39, page 304.
6. Ibid., Vol 27, pp 252-253.
7. Ibid., page 255.
8. Ibid., Vol 48, page 235.
9. Ibid., Vol 26, page 109.
10. Ibid., Vol 30, page 38.
11. Ibid., Vol 53, page 190.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [Following a Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 3, Moscow, 1973, page 279.
13. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 38, page 184.

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#### Overcoming Economic, Cultural 'Backwardness'

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[Article, published under the heading "60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR," by An. A. Gromyko: "Experience in Resolving the Nationalities Question in the USSR and the Afro-Asian World"; passages highlighted by use of italics enclosed in slantlines]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a historic date, the significance of which extends beyond the Soviet

Union. The experience of the 60 years of existence of the USSR is of unfading value for all mankind, including the masses, numbering in the many millions, in developing countries. The international significance of this experience is determined by its enormous contribution to practical accomplishment of the task of social and national liberation of peoples -- the key problem of the history of mankind in the 20th century.

Establishment of the Soviet Union led to a situation where resolution of the nationalities question -- one of the most acute and dramatic in the history of human society -- was accomplished in a practical, concretely historical fashion and on the scale of the world's largest nation. "Under capitalism," wrote V. I. Lenin, "/it is impossible/ to destroy ethnic (and political in general) oppression. To achieve this it is /essential/ to destroy classes, that is, to introduce socialism."<sup>1</sup> Establishment of the USSR constituted a genuine embodiment of Leninist ideals, practical exercise of socialist democracy in resolving the nationalities question in our country.

The international significance of the Soviet experience in resolving the nationalities question lies in the fact that for the first time in history the possibility of forming a qualitatively new type of interrelations between nationalities and ethnic groups on the basis of equality, justice, and all-out friendly cooperation was proven in a practical manner. The entire world became convinced in the example of the USSR that elimination of the system of man's exploitation by man was the most reliable base for eliminating all forms of ethnic oppression, that only a voluntary union of all ethnic groups joining it can constitute a solid political foundation of a multinational state.

The political liberation of nations cannot be strong if it is not combined with reform of economic and social relations, with achievement of economic equality and elimination of backwardness. This conclusion from the historical experience of the Soviet republics is exceptionally valuable for developing nations. Of particular importance is the genuine opportunity, proven in the course of establishment and development of the USSR, for peoples who have not passed through the capitalist stage of development to reach socialism, bypassing or considerably shortening the capitalist stage.

At the contemporary stage of societal development, when the process of social transformation throughout the world has become greatly accelerated, the nationalities question continues to remain one of the most crucial problems. Waging a struggle against the forces of socialism and liberation revolutions in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, imperialism employs not only the force of arms but also attempts to weaken the world anti-imperialist front by setting one people against another, by stirring up racial and national enmity, by promoting separatist, nationalist, chauvinist tendencies, and by rewarding reactionary elements supporting these tendencies.

By virtue of a number of historical and socioeconomic factors, the nationalities question is extremely acute in many developing countries of Asia and Africa, and the fact that it has not been resolved exerts substantial influence on the domestic political stability of nations and their further development. Suffice it to mention as an example the events on the Horn of Africa, the civil war in

Chad, the possibility of utilization by neocolonialists of the complex inter-ethnic relations in Zimbabwe, Sudan, Uganda, etc. Everyone is well acquainted with the events in the Near East and the constant stirring up of discord between the Arab and Jewish population, where the policies of imperialism are expressed in Israel's U.S.-supported invasion of Lebanon and acts of anti-Palestinian genocide in the summer and fall of 1982.

Lenin's teaching on the national-colonial question armed all progressive mankind with a revolutionary program of struggle to end national oppression and colonial slavery, for social and national liberation. Speaking on the Communist ideal of merging of all nations into a single, unified mankind, V. I. Lenin stressed: "If we demand freedom of separation for Mongols, Persians, Egyptians, and /all/ oppressed nations deprived of rights, without exception, it is... /only/ because we are for /free, voluntary/ drawing together and merging, not for merging by force. /Only/ for this reason!"<sup>2</sup> Establishment 60 years ago of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics constituted precisely such a voluntary and free act of merging and drawing together of peoples.

The nationalities question is a historical category. It has different significance and content at different stages in the development of society. In the period of the struggle for power the Bolshevik Party was uniting the toiler masses of different nationalities, by means of its nationalities policy, to destroy the exploiter system, while after the revolution it subordinated its nationalities policy to a new historical task -- building of a new societal system, building of socialism. In this period the party was performing such tasks in the area of ethnic relations as the total elimination of ethnic discord; indoctrination of toilers in a spirit of proletarian internationalism; creation and consolidation of a new form of Soviet nationhood -- a union of peoples; establishment of fraternal friendship and close cooperation among them; upswing in the economy, elimination of the cultural backwardness of peoples which had been oppressed in the past and achievement of virtual equality in their level of development.

All these tasks were successfully accomplished. But the question of ethnic relations is not removed from the agenda even in the period of developed socialism. Henceforth it is a component part of the overall question of building communism. The essence of the nationalities question in our country today consists in strengthening the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the peoples of the USSR and ensuring their further drawing together and mutual understanding, a further powerful upsurge in their economy and culture, and achieving an even fuller and more comprehensive unity of peoples.

A concrete historical approach, examination of the nationalities question and national movements in connection with periods of development of the revolution, with its character and tasks at a given stage constitutes an essential condition for elucidating the character, the class essence and tasks of the nationalities question proper and national movements. The most important methodological demand of Marxism-Leninism -- the demand of a concretely historical approach to examination of the nationalities question and national movements -- signifies a deepened scientific analysis not only of the internal conditions and specific features of a given nation but also such factors as the historical era, the given



stage of the revolution, and the international situation. Precisely such an approach helps one correctly understand the content and class essence of the nationalities question and national movements in the countries of Asia and Africa at the contemporary stage of their societal development.

The need for a basic solution to the nationalities question in our country arose immediately following the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution. On 2 (15) November 1917 the Soviet Government adopted the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia," which proclaimed the total elimination of ethnic oppression, as well as equality of large and small peoples. Each people received the right independently to decide its own future.<sup>3</sup>

The "Appeal of the Council of People's Commissars to the Muslim toilers of Russia and the East" was issued on 20 November (3 December) 1917; this document explained the nationalities policy of the Soviet Government and stressed respect for and the inviolability of the religious beliefs, customs and culture of the Muslim peoples and protection of their rights by the Soviet State.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of victory of the October Revolution, the peoples of Russia were at various levels of economic, social, cultural, and ethnic development. Alongside established or forming nations and nationalities, Russia also contained ethnic groups which were at the earliest stages and levels of ethnosocial development. There were considerable differences in economic-cultural types, social structure, material and intellectual culture, and degree of development of national and class awareness. To this we should add an enormous linguistic and religious diversity, as well as the general economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples of Russia, especially in the outlying areas. All this is also characteristic today of the overwhelming majority of countries in Asia and Africa. Soviet experience, however, indicates that such ethnic pluralism and diversity of differences in levels of development are an obstacle to unification of these peoples into an indivisible socialist union state. In conditions of socialism not so very much time was required to equalize the levels of their socioeconomic and cultural development.

The essence of Soviet nationalities policy consists in a harmonious combination of the nationhood of the entire people and that of separate nationalities and ethnic groups. National-territorial autonomy, carried out on the basis of the experience of national-governmental organizational development in the USSR, is an important political form which finds application in other countries as well.

Of enormous international significance are the theses formulated by V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the effect that the problem of ethnic equality goes further than legal equality, that achievement of complete ethnic equality also requires elimination of actual ethnic inequality, that is, the economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples of the former outlying ethnic regions of czarist Russia, inherited from former times. V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized in his writings and speeches that it is impossible to resolve the nationalities question without eliminating actual national inequality.

Exceptionally important for accomplishing this task were theses advanced by V. I. Lenin on the possibility of noncapitalist development of backward peoples and on ways for former outlying ethnic regions, and backward countries with feudal and patriarchal forms of economy in general, on transition to socialism with the aid of the proletariat of progressive nations and countries, bypassing capitalism. These theses and their successful implementation based on the experience of the Soviet republics are studied with interest throughout the world, including in the countries of Africa and Asia. One result of this is the immutable fact that an increasingly greater number of Afro-Asian countries are taking the road of noncapitalist development, choosing a path of socialist orientation.

Of great interest for the peoples of Asia and Africa is the Soviet experience of building in the intellectual, ideological area -- overcoming cultural backwardness, solving language problems, combining development of individual ethnic cultures with the creation of an ideologically unified Soviet socialist culture, respect for the very rich cultural heritage of peoples, and at the same time overcoming any manifestations of "cultural nationalism," a solicitous attitude toward traditions and customs, and at the same time a struggle against a tendency toward ethnic narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, idealization of the backward past, and a campaign against decrepit customs and ways, superstitions and prejudices hindering the building of a new society.

The struggle for development of national culture is legitimately linked by progressive African leaders with the struggle to discard the colonial past and achieve true independence. "The liberation struggle is one of the manifestations of national culture," wrote Amilkar Kabral.<sup>5</sup>

The experience of the Soviet State shows the inseparable link between political and cultural reforms, which essentially constitute a genuine cultural revolution.

The term "cultural revolution" belongs to V. I. Lenin. He first used it in 1923, a year before his death, in the article "On Cooperative Endeavor,"<sup>6</sup> defining cultural revolution as a revolutionary process of the spiritual transformation of society, an entire phase of societal development dictated by revolutionary transformations in the political and economic domains. Lenin considered cultural revolution to be an essential condition for building socialism.

The difficulties in accomplishing cultural reforms in our country were enormous. The task of these transformations, in such an area as overcoming the backwardness of peoples lacking a written language, for example, consisted in, first of all, creating a written alphabet for ethnic groups lacking a written language and, secondly, in a number of instances replacing a complicated archaic form of writing with an alphabet usable by the general public. But even among peoples possessing rich literary traditions, the majority of the population were illiterate. In Armenia, for example, 90.8 percent of the population between the ages of 9 and 45 was illiterate, while the figure was 96.4 percent in Uzbekistan, and 97.7 percent in Tajikistan. In other words, many of those problems which face the African countries today faced Russia just as urgently in the first post-revolutionary years.

In April 1923 the 12th Party Congress pointed to the necessity of promulgating special laws guaranteeing use of the local indigenous language in all government agencies and in all establishments serving the local population and ethnic minorities.<sup>7</sup> As a result of selfless and purposeful activity on the part of scientific and practical workers, writing systems were developed for more than 50 formerly exclusively spoken languages, and the alphabet was standardized. Complete equality of all languages was established, privileged positions of any specific language were eliminated, and free development of each and every language was guaranteed. At the same time a language of interethnic communication -- Russian -- was coming into increasingly widespread use on a voluntary basis.

All these measures not only helped bring to an end the illiteracy and cultural backwardness of certain ethnic groups, not only fostered the development of national cultures, but also promoted victory of the cultural revolution.

A new stage in ethnic relations began with establishment of a developed socialist society in the USSR; today these are relations between peoples which have achieved a high level of economic and cultural development. This has found expression in the new Constitution of the Soviet State, adopted by the October 1977 Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Article 34 of the Constitution reads: "Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, regardless of origin, social and financial status, ethnic and racial affiliation, sex, education, language, religious beliefs, nature and character of occupation, place of residence, or other circumstances.

"Equality is guaranteed to the citizens of the USSR in all domains of economic, political, social, and cultural affairs."<sup>8</sup>

Article 36 emphasizes that Soviet citizens of different nationalities and races enjoy equal rights. "Exercise of these rights," states the Constitution, "is guaranteed by a policy of comprehensive development and rapprochement of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR, by indoctrinating citizens in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and by the freedom to use one's native language and the languages of other peoples of the USSR."<sup>9</sup>

Summarizing the development of ethnic relations in the mature socialist society, the new USSR Constitution noted that a new historical community of people -- the Soviet people -- has formed in our country, on the basis of drawing together of all classes and social strata, the legal and actual equality of all nationalities and ethnic groups, and their fraternal cooperation.

The Soviet people is not a "supernation," as certain foreign "Sovietologists" persistently claim. Its formation does not signify the "swallowing up" or assimilation of individual nations, which preserve the features of stable ethnic communities.

L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in this connection: "When we talk of a new historical community of people, we do not at all mean that ethnic differences are already disappearing in this country or, in particular, that a coalescence of nations has taken place. All the nationalities and ethnic groups inhabiting the Soviet

Union maintain their specific features, their traits of national character, language, and their finest traditions. They have every opportunity to achieve even greater flourishing of their ethnic culture.

"At the same time the Soviet people is not simply a sum of nations which are living side by side in a single state, under the same roof, so to say. Our people, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, possess many common traits, which unite them into a single monolithic whole. These include commonality of ideology, commonality of historical destiny, commonality of conditions of socioeconomic affairs, root interests and goals. These also include an evolving commonality of Soviet socialist culture, which takes in all the true values of each of the national cultures."<sup>10</sup>

Anticommunist ideologists devote enormous attention to the nationalities question. In such countries as the United States, Great Britain, and the FRG, there has been established an extensive network of various centers to study the USSR and its various regions, particularly Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and the peoples of the North. The principal task of these centers is falsification of the experience of development of the Soviet State, an endeavor to demonstrate its unacceptability for other countries, and particularly Afro-Asian nations.

Numerous foreign "Sovietologists," in spite of their hostility toward the Soviet experience, nevertheless are unable to conceal the successes achieved by our country's peoples. Therefore they seek out negative elements in ethnic relations and attempt to discredit CPSU policy with the aim of denying the international significance of the Soviet experience.

It is most frequently the principles of Soviet federation which are attacked by the ideologues of anticommunism, revisionism, and opportunism. They attempt to demonstrate that the right of nations to self-determination has been proclaimed allegedly on paper alone, that the autonomy of nationalities in the republics exists in form but not in substance."<sup>11</sup>

Western political scientists stubbornly claim "coercive Russification of the non-Russian peoples" and destruction of their "ethnic affiliation." They attempt to demonstrate that CPSU nationalities policy is essentially nationalistic, that its main objective is to ensure dominance of the Russian nation over all the other peoples of our country (and subsequently the world as well). From here they proceed toward that favorite myth of imperialist propaganda, of the notorious "Soviet threat."

Playing on the ethnic feelings of peoples, imperialist propaganda endeavors to sow seeds of discord, to set the non-Russian peoples against the Russians, and to stir up nationalistic attitudes.

G. Wheeler, one of the leaders of the British ideological effort, former director of the Central Asian Research Center in London, and a colonel in British intelligence, writes that "all countries belonging to the Western bloc show interest in the possibilities of nationalism within the Soviet Union because they believe that extensive nationalistic outbursts within that country would face the Soviet Union with strategic and economic difficulties."<sup>12</sup>



The ideologues of anticommunism are making a considerable effort to cast a shadow on the fraternal unity of peoples of the USSR. They are attempting to set off the interests of different nations against one another and to stir up traces of past ethnic discord. These ideologues proceed from the thesis, which has been disproved by the entire course of our development, that the consolidation of socialist nations should cause centrifugal tendencies among them.

Without attempting to gain an understanding of the essence of the sociohistorical processes taking place in the Soviet Union, bourgeois scholars portray the appearance and development of new forms of culture as impoverishment and dying off of ethnic distinctiveness, while failing to note the processes of spiritual rapprochement of the Soviet peoples and mutual enrichment of their cultures.

All kinds of phony conjectures by the ideologues of anticommunism are aimed at "proving" that the nationalities policy of the Soviet authorities cannot serve as an example for the peoples of the world and that its experience is inapplicable in the countries of Africa and Asia.<sup>13</sup> The very practicalities of societal affairs in a number of these countries refute such allegations.

The Leninist program pertaining to the nationalities question is a component part of the party's program of struggle for democracy and socialism. It is grounded on precise, rigorously scientific consideration of the interests of the national development of large and small peoples and proceeds from the necessity of subordinating national to international interests. The demands of the party pertaining to the nationalities question, stressed V. I. Lenin, are subordinated to the interests of the proletarian struggle and to the higher interests of socialism.<sup>14</sup>

The value of the Soviet experience also lies in the fact that it attests to the possibility of successfully resolving the nationalities question. Complex ethnic problems and conflicts are not fatal or inevitable. They can be resolved under the condition of elimination of man's exploitation by man and by doing away with the social roots of racial and ethnic antagonism. "From the first years of Soviet rule, our economic and social policy," stated L. I. Brezhnev from the speaker's platform at the 26th CPSU Congress, "was so constructed as to boost Russia's former outlying ethnic regions as rapidly as possible to the level of development of the central region. And this task was successfully accomplished."<sup>15</sup>

In this situation the successes in resolving the nationalities question in the Soviet Union evoke particular interest in the countries of Africa and Asia. The life and labor of the great many nationalities and ethnic groups of the USSR, where Lenin's nationalities program and policy were implemented, where equality of all nations has been secured, where ethnic privilege has been abolished, and where equal opportunities have been created for the comprehensive and free development of peoples, have begun to be studied even more attentively by the people in young independent countries. Many statements by political and civic leaders on the significance of the Soviet experience have appeared in periodicals published in the Afro-Asian countries, as well as materials dealing with the achievements of our country's previously backward peoples, accomplished

as a result of implementation of socialist reforms and a scientifically substantiated nationalities policy.

In the article "Socialism -- Key to Progress in the USSR," for example, the newspaper GHANIAN TIMES gave high marks to the achievements of the Soviet Union in the area of nationalities policy.<sup>16</sup> The newspaper notes the great respect on the part of the Soviet State for each of the ethnic groups inhabiting this country, for their culture, traditions, and language, and particularly stresses that preservation of ethnic identification is encouraged by law. The article's author writes about cooperation and mutual assistance among all Soviet republics. "One is amazed at the purposefulness with which the Soviet people solve ethnic problems," the newspaper concludes.

High marks are also given to the experience of resolving nationalities problems in the USSR in the statements of prominent sociopolitical figures and national leaders in the independent countries of the Afro-Asia world. Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, for example, emphasized in his message of greeting on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution that "the people of the USSR has given an inspiring example to oppressed people throughout the world. It has demonstrated that the evil of capitalism is not inevitable, that suffering and exploitation are not necessarily people's lot and that man can overcome incredible difficulties when he is inspired by an ideal. The entire course of world history was changed as a result of the victorious revolution which began 60 years ago in Russia.... We have studied and continue to study the experience of the USSR."<sup>17</sup>

The Soviet experience in resolving nationalities problems is extensively studied and put into practice in conformity with local conditions in Vietnam, Burma, Laos and other countries. "Precisely Lenin's theses on the nationalities and colonial questions... helped the Vietnamese revolutionaries find the road to liberation of their people," wrote the former president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Ton Duc Thang, now deceased.<sup>18</sup>

The Soviet experience of resolving the nationalities question is a subject of lively interest and discussion in Africa.

In Sudan, where the extremely acute problem of the South led to many years of fratricidal war between the southerners and government troops, the Sudan's Marxists proposed a plan for resolving the nationalities question, based on study of the Soviet experience and specifying broad autonomy for the Nilotic peoples of the South in a unified Sudanese state. One of the authors of this plan was Southern Sudanese Marxist Joseph Garang. Essentially the main ideas in this plan form the basis of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement between the government of President Numayri and the leaders of the Southern Sudanese insurgents, guaranteeing autonomy of the Southern Region of the Democratic Republic of Sudan.<sup>19</sup>

In Ethiopia study of the Soviet experience of resolving the nationalities question began in Marxist study groups as early as the 1960's, when cultural associations of the Tigray, Oromo and Gurage ethnic groups were established in that country, and debates were conducted on whether there exists an "Ethiopian nation" and an "Eritrean nation." The most scientifically substantiated and

realistic position taken in these debates, which continued in the 1970's, was that taken by certain Tigray Marxists, who pointed to the fact that the Italian colony of Eritrea was formed by a "surgical operation" which split up the ethnohistorical territories of the Tigrayans and the Afars -- two large ethnic groups in Ethiopia -- and united them both with one another and with a number of related and unrelated ethnic groups. They, pointing to the experience of the Soviet Union, reached the conclusion that one should advocate the right to self-determination in the form of ethnic-territorial autonomy for Tigrayans and Afars, both in Eritrea and in the neighboring provinces of Ethiopia, as well as the Kunama, Barya, and others in Northern Eritrea.

In the period following the 1974 revolution, the Soviet experience of resolution of the nationalities question became the subject of extensive and comprehensive study by the Ethiopian people and their leaders. This also found expression in the program documents of the Ethiopian revolution, which devote considerable attention to formulating ways of resolving the nationalities question in that country. The "Program of the National-Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia" (Section 6), for example, devotes special attention to small ethnic groups. This document proclaimed, for the first time in Ethiopia's history, the principle of the right of nations to self-determination. "The right of all nationalities to self-determination will be recognized and will be fully respected. No nationality shall dominate another, since in conformity with the spirit of socialism the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will be recognized to an equal degree.... Each nationality shall have local autonomy in matters pertaining to domestic affairs."<sup>20</sup>

At the present time considerable work is being done in Ethiopia to devise writing systems for a number of the country's most significant languages, study is being made of the possibility of establishing ethnically homogeneous territorial-administrative units, and measures are being taken to eliminate the actual inequality of the non-Amharic ethnic groups and their equalization with the traditionally more highly developed Amharic people.

"African revolutionaries take inspiration in their nationalities policy from the experience acquired in this area by the USSR," stated the newspaper ETUMBA, organ of the Congolese Labor Party, in April 1978. "An example is the republics of Central Asia, where prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 the bourgeois regime pursued a colonialist policy, aimed at disuniting peoples and stirring up conflicts between them.

"The life of these peoples changed radically following establishment of Soviet rule, which proclaimed the equality and independence of all nations, large and small. The high-minded position taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on this question was expressed by V. I. Lenin.

"Having liberated people from social and ethnic oppression, Soviet rule proved in a practical manner for the first time in history that workers of different nationalities and races cannot have a basis for enmity and hatred, that their unity and cooperation constitute a guarantee of the swift development of once backward countries and peoples.

"Today the republics of Central Asia have totally eliminated illiteracy and have built large, modern cities, important industrial, scientific, and cultural centers.

"This constitutes an extremely valuable experience."<sup>21</sup>

Already at the present stage of socioeconomic and political development of the African nations one can state that in those countries which have chosen a path of socialist orientation, of noncapitalist development, if their governments accompany proclamation of a progressive course of policy with implementation of profound socioeconomic reforms, favorable conditions are created for resolving the nationalities question and problems of ethnic integration.

The peoples of Southern Africa, which are fighting for their independence, also turn to the Soviet experience. Lenin's teachings on the nationalities question, notes Yusuf Dadu, chairman of the South African Communist Party, "is a valuable foundation on which the program and policy of the South African Communist Party are grounded. Our people have seen with their own eyes how implementation of Leninist principles makes it possible to resolve the nationalities question in the USSR, to secure immense, comprehensive development of the former colonies of czarist Russia, and to raise the level and prosperity of formerly oppressed peoples. We too shall endeavor to accomplish that which has already been accomplished by our Soviet comrades. The experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people enriches revolutionary theory and is of enormous significance for all struggling peoples."<sup>22</sup>

The principles of equality, friendship and cooperation of peoples form the basis not only of domestic policy of the Soviet State but also define its relations with the peoples of other nations. "Our experience," stated V. I. Lenin, "has formed in us the unswerving conviction that only immense attention toward the interests of the various nationalities eliminates the soil for conflicts, does away with mutual distrust, apprehension about intrigues, and creates that confidence, in particular on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which neither peaceful relations between peoples nor successful development of all that which is of value in contemporary civilization would be at all possible."<sup>23</sup>

The experience of the Soviet Union -- building the world's first society of developed socialism, and the outstanding successes of the Leninist nationalities policy, embodying mankind's dream of friendship and brotherhood -- is of world-historic significance. This experience is an inspiring example, a source of optimism for all those who are fighting for freedom and social progress. Today V. I. Lenin's prediction that "the example of the Socialist Soviet Republic in Russia will stand as a living model before the peoples of all countries, and the propaganda, revolutionizing effect of this model will be immense"<sup>24</sup> is coming true.

Six decades of existence of the USSR is the most solid proof of this world-historic influence.



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## ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA\*

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[Article, published under the the heading "60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR," by I. A. Kulev]

[Text] The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress state the task of "developing on a long-term basis of equality a mutually beneficial exchange of goods, comprehensive economic, scientific-technical and other relations between the Soviet Union and developing countries. Continue giving these countries comprehensive economic and technical assistance in building industrial enterprises, power, agricultural and other facilities promoting the strengthening of their economic and political independence."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek any special economic or other advantages for itself in cooperation with other countries. Grounding its relations with them on the advantages of international division of labor and at the same time performing tasks connected with carrying out its internationalist duty, the USSR utilizes cooperation for accomplishing our nation's main economic task -- raising the standard of living of the Soviet people. Economic relations between the USSR and the countries of Asia are based on mutual benefit, respect for one's partners, and noninterference in one another's affairs.

\* \* \*

Economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and developing countries has played an important role in the process of transformation of world economic relations in recent decades. The Soviet Union was one of the first to come forth with the initiative of assisting developing countries in building industrial enterprises. It is solely due to this that the majority of Western industrially developing nations, fearing the loss of international markets, were forced to offer similar services. But here as well USSR assistance was offered on more favorable terms, and the constructed enterprises were distinguished by a high degree of reliability. Indicative in this respect is the example of India, which in the mid-1950's was negotiating with West German companies

\* This article is based on a paper presented by the author at an international political science conference entitled "Current Problems of Contemporary Asia" (held in Moscow on 30 June-2 July 1982).

about construction of the (Rurkel) Metallurgical Plant on difficult terms for India, which included a loan at 12 percent interest and mandatory participation by the German companies in running the plant. The Soviet-Indian agreement on construction of the Bhilai Combine, which was signed during that period, enabled India to insist on cutting the interest rate in half and to deny the German companies a share in running the plant.

Economic and technical cooperation with the countries of Asia has developed considerably up to the present time. For example, export of equipment and materials for complete-package enterprises increased fivefold from 1960 through 1981. One must also additionally consider the services rendered within the framework of economic cooperation, including preliminary feasibility studies prior to building certain facilities, preparation of technical documentation, delivery of construction equipment, sending in of Soviet experts to assist during construction, installation and setup of equipment, equipment operation, as well as in training indigenous personnel.

In the process of cooperation in building various facilities abroad, economic relations go far beyond the framework of ordinary trade and extend into the domain of construction and manufacture of industrial and other products, thus creating the preconditions for deeper and more long-range relations. This is due in particular to the fact that the timetable for complete execution of economic and technical cooperation agreements is not limited only to performance of preliminary studies, design and construction-installation work. After completion of construction, there are deliveries of replacement equipment and spare parts, and in many cases assistance is given in operating facilities, bringing them up to designed output, in starting up manufacture of new products and transferring experience in planning and organizing production.

Of the total volume of economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Western countries, the Asian socialist countries account for 21 percent, and developing countries in Asia an additional 21 percent (see Table 1). Economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries of Asia is distinguished by dynamic growth. Its volume has increased by a factor of 2.5 every 10 years since 1960.

Volume of Soviet export of equipment and materials for complete-package enterprises to Asian countries increased by a factor of 2.5 from 1960 to 1981 (see Table 2). The percentage share of the region's developing countries in total aid volume increased from 18 to 21 percent. One should bear in mind that at the beginning of the 1960's large-scale projects were already under way in such countries as India and Afghanistan, and a substantial volume of work was being performed in Mongolia and other countries. A high and stable growth rate for our cooperation with the Asian countries indicates good prospects for further expansion in future years as well.

Fifty percent of the enterprises built in developing countries (see tables 3 and 4) are industrial enterprises, including 20 percent -- enterprises of the fuel-energy branches. There has also been a substantial scale of cooperation in the area of transportation and communications, as well as public education and health -- approximately 15 percent each of the total number of facilities; agriculture accounts for approximately 11 percent of facilities.



Table 1. Percentage Share of Asian Countries in Total Volume of Soviet Economic and Technical Assistance, on the Basis of Current Agreements (Running Totals at Year's End, %)

Countries	1960	1970	1975	1981
Total	100	100	100	100
Asian countries	65.76	49.03	46.48	42.20
Of that:				
socialist	47.76	24.16	18.86	21.03
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	4.16	4.06	2.73	1.71
PRC*	39.00	10.93	6.67	3.44
Laos		0.03	0.02	0.45
Mongolian People's Republic	2.20	6.64	5.54	10.10
Socialist Republic of Vietnam	2.40	2.50	3.90	5.33
developing	18.00	24.87	27.62	21.17
Afghanistan	2.12	3.15	3.26	2.86
Bangladesh			0.41	0.42
Burma	0.13	0.08	0.06	0.03
India	7.80	9.17	6.16	5.34
Indonesia	3.40	1.62	0.97	0.14
Jordan		0.03	0.03	0.02
Iraq	2.81	1.79	5.33	3.10
Iran	3.74	3.74	4.43	3.51
Yemen Arab Republic	0.15	0.41	0.25	0.17
The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen		0.05	0.29	0.77
Kampuchea	0.06	0.13	0.08	0.30
Nepal	0.08	0.13	0.08	0.05
Pakistan		0.84	2.07	1.25
Syria	1.05	1.42	1.82	1.23
Turkey	0.12	2.07	2.10	1.82
Sri Lanka	0.30	0.20	0.29	0.16

\* Obligations based on agreements fully met.

In contrast to the Western countries, the Soviet Union frequently agrees to payment not in foreign exchange but in traditional export goods or -- this form is presently experiencing particular development -- in goods produced at Soviet-built facilities, which substantially facilitates loan repayment. In exchange for services, design and technical documentation, equipment and materials, as well as credit, our country receives from the partner countries goods which are of substantial interest for the economy of the USSR either by virtue of the fact that due to various circumstances possibilities for their manufacture within the Soviet Union are limited, or because their purchase abroad is cheaper than producing them domestically.

Goods exported to the USSR from facilities built on the basis of cooperation with socialist and developing countries in Asia and the USSR include oil (Iraq, Syria), nonferrous metal concentrates (Turkey, Mongolian People's Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, etc), ferrous metals and rolled products, metallurgical equipment (India), natural gas, agricultural products (Afghanistan), etc. The percentage share of goods from facilities built with Soviet assistance

Table 2. Soviet Export of Equipment and Materials for Complete-Package Enterprises (Million Rubles)

Countries	1955	1960	1970	1975	1981
Total	249.1	513.5	859.6	1290.9	2579.3
Asian countries	132.4	401.3	425.6	545.2	999.4
Of that:					
socialist	131.4	352.0	163.9	239.7	522.6
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	1.6	0.8	66.4	43.7	46.5
PRC	127.3	336.5			
Laos					12.9
Mongolian People's Republic	2.5	11.8	71.9	163.2	361.3
Socialist Republic of Vietnam		2.9	25.6	32.8	101.9
developing	1.0	49.3	261.7	305.5	476.8
Afghanistan	0.9	15.7	12.3	16.2	70.0
Bangladesh				2.0	3.3
India	0.1	16.3	62.4	59.4	67.0
Iraq		3.8	3.5	46.8	62.9
Iran			114.7	121.5	110.5
Yemen Arab Republic		1.9	4.0	1.1	6.2
Kampuchea					16.4
The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen			1.3	2.4	27.4
Pakistan			10.0	17.9	42.5
Syria		1.8	19.8	28.7	22.7
Turkey		3.3	33.3	8.0	47.2
Sri Lanka			0.3	1.3	0.7

amounts to 25 percent of the total volume of imports from all developing countries. Deliveries of goods on the basis of a long-term compensation or barter agreement are distinguished by stability, which not only helps satisfy the needs of the Soviet national economy but also enables our partners to expand the list of export goods, to increase overall foreign trade volume, to improve the country's ability to pay, and to repay indebtedness incurred from Soviet credits. At the present time the USSR has more than 30 barter-based cooperation agreements, and a large percentage of these are with Asian countries. This form perhaps most fully meets mutual interests and has extremely favorable prospects for future development, creating conditions for expanding trade relations.

Economic assistance given by the Soviet Union to other countries comprises a comparatively small portion of the financial flow from industrially developed countries to developing countries. The widely publicized advantages of Western "official development aid," however, apply only to approximately one fourth of all capital export to developing countries, export which is handled chiefly by privately-owned banks and companies, on the whole on tougher terms.

The "grant-element" indicator published by international financial organizations, characterizing the overall terms of foreign financing, attests to the fact that Western assistance to developing countries is involving increasingly harsher terms year by year. (The higher the "grant-element" indicator, the more

Table 3. Number of Enterprises and Other Facilities Built, Under Construction, and to Be Built in the Future With Soviet Technical Assistance (Status as of 1 January 1982)

Countries	Total		Of That, Industrial Enterprises	
	On the Basis of Agreements	Of That, Completed and in operation	On the Basis of Agreements	Of That, Completed and in operation
Total	4512	2707	2437	1600
Asian countries	2157	1387	1020	722
Of that:				
socialist	1467	979	694	519
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	70	59	41	32
PRC	256	256	243	243
Laos	43	4	19	1
Mongolian People's Republic	810	466	230	142
Socialist Republic of Vietnam	288	194	161	101
developing	690	408	326	203
Afghanistan	167	78	46	19
Bangladesh	15	11	4	4
Burma	7	7	2	2
India	92	56	65	38
Indonesia	9	8	1	
Jordan	1		1	
Iraq	99	73	49	38
Iran	123	81	87	59
Yemen Arab Republic	13	11	3	3
Kampuchea	23	2	4	
People's Democratic Republic of Yemen	33	15	11	5
Nepal	8	6	6	4
Pakistan	13	8	4	2
Syria	64	35	24	16
Turkey	15	8	13	8
Sri Lanka	10	9	6	5

Table 4. Sectorial Structure of Soviet Cooperation With the Asian Countries

Sector	Value(%)
Industry	75.8
Agriculture	5.8
Transportation and communications	9.7
Geology and mineral exploration	5.4
Public education, culture, health care, sports facilities	2.6
Housing and municipal services construction	0.3
Science and scientific services	0.1
Other sectors of the economy	0.3

advantageous to the recipient the terms of utilization of foreign aid, and vice versa). According to IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] figures, for example, the "grant-element" of Western loans to all developing countries declined in the period 1970-1979 from 37 to 6 percent, while during a 6-year period it declined from 32 to 19 percent for Asian countries. Loans are granted to different countries on differing terms, which serves as an instrument for applying pressure on their governments. The "grant-element" for the countries of the East Asia, for example, has declined to an overall level of 10 percent.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to Western "aid," the "grant-element" of terms on credits granted by the Soviet Union to developing countries ranges between 38 and 58 percent.

Economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and other countries contains a number of characteristic features which are natural for socialist countries, which are specific in large measure for developing countries, in comparison with "aid" by Western countries, due to the fact that:

cooperation is carried out chiefly in the interests of development of the government sector, which today is the leading sector in many Asian countries and serves as a foundation for implementing socioeconomic reforms. Assistance to governmental organizations, and particularly production organizations, is most fully in conformity with the national interests of the toilers of these countries, who advocate achieving economic independence, equal and mutually beneficial international economic relations;

economic relations are constructed primarily on a foundation of long-term agreements, which enable a country efficiently to plan utilization of those resources it possesses and which are given to it, in conformity with the strategy and tactics of socioeconomic development. The principles of mutual benefit enable developing countries to carry out exchange of goods on a stable and long-term basis;

the Soviet Union gives economic and technical assistance to developing countries across a broad range of branches and facilities -- from geological exploration to manufacture of finished products. As a rule, this assistance is combined with building infrastructure elements, housing construction, and training of personnel, which makes it possible to form efficient and effective territorial-production complexes.

A characteristic feature of Soviet economic and technical cooperation with the Asian countries, as with other developing countries as well, is its directional thrust focusing primarily on the production domain (see Table 4). In comparing the structure of economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and developing countries and "official development aid" given by industrially developed capitalist countries, one should bear in mind that the latter devote principal attention to carrying out projects not of production designation but connected with the infrastructure. The enterprises they build frequently are branch assembly plants which are totally dependent on imported raw materials, semi-manufactures and component items. A typical example of this is Iran, where after the revolution it was determined as a result of the economic blockade by

the Western countries that industry as a whole was 60 percent dependent on such deliveries, while the machine building industry was 85 percent dependent.

Naturally the infrastructure also plays an important role in creating the requisite preconditions for socioeconomic development. We must note, however, that bilateral and multilateral governmental economic aid from the Western powers is closely linked with investment of private capital in those developing countries. And this means that aid is given not so much to developing countries as to their own monopolies.

In contrast to this the USSR gives assistance, in those countries where suitable economic preconditions exist, precisely in building production facilities, especially large production complexes, including infrastructure facilities, which constitute a foundation for forming entire economic regions, which redetermine their specialization emphasis within the economy of the developing countries. Such complexes best foster the accomplishment of such important socioeconomic tasks as boosting the level of employment, training skilled personnel, developing a domestic raw materials and processing base, helping not only satisfy domestic requirements independent of import deliveries, but also helping expand export. As an example of creation of such complexes we can cite construction of a metallurgical combine in Iran in combination with prospecting for coal, iron ore and other essential raw materials, construction of mines, concentrating mills, construction of training centers, and housing construction. Last year the combine was one of the country's few industrial enterprises operating without interruption and at full capacity. Naturally the building of large industrial enterprises, and particularly complexes, is a considerably more complex task than building infrastructure facilities; it demands greater responsibility and certain risk on the part of the executing agency. Results of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Asian countries are illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5. Total Capacities of Facilities in Asian Countries Built, Under Construction, and Scheduled to Be Built With Soviet Assistance (Status as of the Beginning of 1982)

Branch	Unit of Measurement	Specified by Agreements	Of That, On-Stream
Electric power generation	million kilowatts	18.6	8.6
Pig Iron	million tons	21.5	9.9
Steel	"	25.5	8.0
Iron Ore	"	14.5	14.5
Coal (extraction)	"	80.47	15.6
Oil (extraction)	"	67.82	67.32
Mineral fertilizers	thousand tons	745	315
Cement	million tons	2.8	1.6
Large-panel building construction	million square meters of housing	3.8	0.4
Irrigation and land development	million hectares	1.5	1.1
Railroads	thousand km	4.4	3.7
Highways	"	2.1	2.1
Pipelines	"	2.3	1.7



The volume of production potential built or under construction just in three principal industries (steel, electric power engineering, and oil) -- 28.2 billion dollars per year in 1981 world prices -- attests to the scale of Soviet cooperation with the Asian countries and the role it plays for their economy. Complete-cycle ferrous metallurgical industries, meeting domestic requirements in metal and in many cases producing metal for export, were built for the first time in Iran, India, and Turkey with our country's assistance. Their significance is indicated, for example, by the fact that in 1981 the percentage share of enterprises in industry built with Soviet assistance in the total volume of output by five large complete-cycle government metallurgical plants amounted to almost 60 percent. The leading enterprise in this branch continues to be the first Soviet-Indian cooperative construction project -- the Bhilai Metallurgical Combine, which since going into operation has produced 37.5 million tons of steel and 30.2 million tons of rolled metal products.

Power engineering facilities are also extraordinarily important. Electric power stations built with Soviet assistance produce up to 70 percent of Syria's electric power, more than 40 percent in Iraq, 60 percent in Afghanistan, etc.

In many instances cooperation with Asian countries is on a large scale and encompasses many branches and sectors of the economy. One vivid example is economic relations with Afghanistan, where in 1981 enterprises built with Soviet participation produced approximately 70 percent of all government-sector manufactured goods, generated approximately 14 billion afghani (more than 200 million rubles) profit, and provided approximately 40 percent of state budget revenues from domestic sources. A particularly important role in the Afghan economy is played by the national gas industry, built with Soviet assistance. In 1981 gas exports generated almost 40 percent of that country's entire export revenues.

Assisting in building large industrial and other enterprises in the government sector of developing countries, Soviet foreign trade organizations proceed from the conviction that it is precisely the government sector of the economy which gives the governments of these countries not only powerful economic instruments for development of their own independent national economy, but also funds for carrying out social programs -- development of free education, free medical care, establishment and expansion of social insurance, etc. At the same time Soviet organizations are also willing to work with the private sector in building small and medium enterprises.

One acute socioeconomic problem for all developing countries, including Asian, is that of providing food to a rapidly growing population. In view of the acuteness of the food problem in the countries of Asia, the Soviet Union gives considerable assistance in solving it. Approximately 90 agricultural facilities are being built with Soviet assistance just in developing countries in Asia, including state farms and farms for growing food crops and fattening livestock, veterinary laboratories, irrigation and land reclamation. Almost 50 facilities have been put into operation to date. Also related to agriculture are more than 60 facilities of the milling-hulled products and feed mix industry, grain elevators, refrigerated storage facilities, canneries, etc, for storing food products and ensuring against spoilage.

The USSR also gives active assistance to Asian countries in development of irrigation, land reclamation and other forms of land development. Soviet participation in these activities is manifested variously in specific countries, depending on the desires of the host country: performance of survey and design services, supply of specific kinds of equipment, and performance of large, complete projects on a contract basis. More than 1.5 million hectares of land have been developed or are being developed in Asian countries with Soviet assistance, which makes it possible substantially to increase crop and livestock production. As an example of cooperation in agriculture and irrigation with specific countries, we can cite Afghanistan, where the Jalalabad complex was built with Soviet assistance, including a 70 kilometer irrigation canal which makes it possible to irrigate several tens of thousands of hectares of virgin land in the densely populated Nangarhar province -- the country's only area in which the climate allows the growing of subtropical crops. The Hadda and Ghaziabad state farms -- multibranch agricultural enterprises with a high degree of job mechanization, specializing in growing citrus fruits and olives -- have also been established on irrigated lands with Soviet assistance. The irrigation system in the vicinity of the Sarde dam will make it possible to irrigate approximately 18,000 hectares of land. Of importance for development of agriculture in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is technical assistance in establishing machine-tractor stations and supplying agricultural equipment, assistance in operating veterinary polyclinics and laboratories, supplying seed, and conducting annual campaigns to combat locusts and vaccinate livestock.

A great deal of land development work has been accomplished with Soviet assistance in the SRV [Socialist Republic of Vietnam], where in the period 1976-1980 alone 0.4 million hectares were prepared for irrigation, comprising 75 percent of the total additional irrigated land in that country during this period. Overall cooperation in the area of agriculture in Vietnam made it possible to create preconditions for producing approximately 1 million tons of grain and a substantial quantity of bananas, tea, coffee, pineapples, and hevea juice.

An important place in cooperation between the USSR and Asian countries is occupied by training of indigenous cadres of various specialization and level. During the years of cooperation Soviet specialists have trained more than half a million skilled workers directly in the process of constructing facilities; many workers improved their level of job qualifications and became foremen and team leaders (see Table 6). This process was promoted by special classrooms set up at large construction projects. An important place is occupied by training of indigenous cadres at Soviet educational institutions, with specific job assignment at industrial and other facilities built with Soviet participation. This makes it possible to train indigenous cadres at the very highest level, taking into consideration the requirements of modern technology and receiving practical on-the-job experience at counterpart Soviet enterprises.

Indigenous personnel are trained in the Soviet Union and at cooperatively built facilities. An important role is also played by schools established with Soviet assistance in Asian countries (see Table 7). They total approximately 150, and include the following:

Table 6. Training of Indigenous Cadres for Foreign Countries With Soviet Assistance (Status as of 1981)

Countries	Indigenous Personnel Trained (Thousand Persons)					
	Total	Of That				
		Production-Technical Training and Consultation in USSR	During Construction and Operation of Co-operative-Project Facilities	At Training Centers Established With Soviet Assistance	At Higher Educational Institutions and Secondary Technical Schools Established With Soviet Assistance	At Higher Educational Institutions and Secondary Technical Schools in the USSR
Total	1460.0	111.8	817.3	353.5	67.8	110.1
Asian countries	808.8	56.8	532.0	134.1	49.9	35.7
Of that:						
socialist	297.8	45.4	147.8	46.8	30.7	27.1
developing	511.0	11.4	384.2	87.3	19.2	8.7

20 higher educational institutions, 15 of which are already successfully operating and training highly skilled specialists. Soviet faculty are teaching at many higher educational institutions;

26 secondary specialized schools for training foremen, team leaders, instructors, etc, 19 of which have already been built and are training indigenous personnel;

100 training centers and vocational schools for training skilled workers of mass job specializations; half of these have already been built; Soviet master instructors and teachers are working at many of these.

The leaders of many Asian countries with which the USSR is engaged in cooperation in the area of training personnel highly praise the importance of this collaboration for their national economy. Typical is the statement by Mansur Sarari, member of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party: "Aid differs. British imperialism trained Yemenis as clerks, disciplined servants, and minor government functionaries, while our Soviet friends are selflessly assisting our young republic in training highly skilled cadres, which are indispensable to our national industry, agriculture, and culture."<sup>3</sup>

Entire networks of educational institutions are being established in the countries of Asia with the assistance of the Soviet Union, schools for training specialists of various levels of qualifications in conditions maximally approximating the specific needs of the national economies. Operating in Vietnam, for example, there are three higher educational institutions, four training

Table 7. Number of Schools Already Built, Under Construction, and Scheduled for Construction in Asian Countries With Soviet Technical Assistance (Status as of 1 January 1981)

Countries	Total		Of That					
			Higher Educational Institutions		Secondary Specialized Schools		Training Centers and Vocational Schools	
	On the Basis of Agreements	Of That, Already in Operation	On the Basis of Agreements	Of That, Already in Operation	On the Basis of Agreements	Of That, Already in Operation	On the Basis of Agreements	Of That, Already in Operation
Total Asian countries	479	233	38	25	48	27	393	181
Of that:								
socialist	56	32	6	4	15	9	35	20
PRC	1	1	1	1				
Laos	3				2		1	
Mongolian People's Republic	36	25			11	9	25	16
SRV	16	7	5	3	2		9	4
developing	90	53	14	11	11	10	65	32
Afghanistan	11	4	2	1	2	2	7	1
Bangladesh	4	2					4	2
Burma	2	2	2	2				
India	14	10	5	5	6	5	3	
Indonesia	1	1	1	1				
Iraq	16	11					16	11
Iran	23	13					23	13
Yemen Arab Republic	3	3			3	3		
Kampuchea	3	1	2	1			1	
Democratic Republic of Yemen	4	3	2	1			2	2
Pakistan	1	1					1	1
Syria	7	2					7	2
Turkey	1						1	

centers and vocational schools, in Mongolia there is a network of 9 secondary technical schools, 16 training centers and vocational schools, in India there is a network of 5 colleges and 5 secondary technical schools, etc. An additional more than 40 educational institutions are being established with Soviet participation at the present time in Asian countries.

Collaborative effort helps Asian countries accomplish such a highly important social task as that of increasing employment. At the present time approximately

600,000 workers, engineers and technicians are employed at installations built in Asian countries with Soviet assistance; approximately 200,000 of these were trained either during construction and operation of these enterprises or at schools established with Soviet assistance, or received vocational training in the USSR (see Table 8).

Table 8. Number of Local Specialists and Workers Employed at Facilities Built in Cooperation With the USSR (Status as of 1981)

Countries	Thousand Persons
Total	995.5
Asian countries	577.2
Of that:	
socialist	64.0
Democratic People's	
Republic of Korea	11.5
Mongolian People's	
Republic	52.5
Socialist Republic	
of Vietnam	112.4
developing	400.8
Afghanistan	29.6
Bangladesh	2.7
India	162.9
Iraq	17.3
Iran	100.0
Kampuchea	2.9
People's Democratic	
Republic of Yemen	8.7
Nepal	2.9
Pakistan	18.3
Syria	22.7
Turkey	27.2
Sri Lanka	4.8

The fact that little geological investigation has been performed in many Asian countries and the needs of their developing economies advance as one of the most important areas of economic and technical cooperation the performance in these countries of an appropriate aggregate of activities pertaining to prospecting and detailed exploration for various minerals. In many cases the collaborative effort continues at the stage of development of already discovered and surveyed mineral deposits. For example, the Indian National Oil and Gas Commission, established with the assistance of Soviet organizations, as of the beginning of 1982 had accomplished the production of 80 million tons of crude oil and 11 billion cubic meters of natural gas, in particular at 45 oil and gas fields discovered with the assistance of Soviet geologists. In 1981 alone the commission, operating with their participation, opened up 8 new hydrocarbon deposits and accomplished the production of 11.9 million tons of crude, which enabled India to achieve significant savings in foreign exchange. In Syria Soviet geologists and oil industry people have explored a number of large oil fields and have assisted in establishing a new branch of the national economy -- a petroleum industry, which is making a large contribution toward



that country's economic development. In 1981 alone income to the state from oil production ran almost 2 billion dollars. Crude oil exports are presently generating more than half of the country's entire foreign exchange.

Geological exploration for oil and gas and assistance in oil and gas field development have also been carried out in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Afghanistan, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Iraq, and elsewhere.

Substantial coal deposits have been discovered and explored with the participation of Soviet geologists in Iran, India, Mongolia, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and elsewhere, and production enterprises have been established to exploit these resources. In many Asian countries there have been detailed exploration of deposits of ferrous and nonferrous metal ores, as well as raw materials for the mining-chemical and construction industries. In a number of cases raw material and fuel deposits discovered with Soviet assistance have formed the basis for establishing new industries in Asian countries and have made it possible to reduce or entirely to eliminate the import of corresponding raw materials and to achieve substantial savings in foreign exchange.

An important feature of cooperation with some Asian countries, particularly socialist countries and those which have chosen the path of building socialism, is participation by Soviet experts in the operation of various governmental organizations, ministries and agencies as consultant-advisers. Our experts help improve the system of government administration and help draw up current and long-range socioeconomic development plans, which make it possible to mobilize and most efficiently to utilize all available possibilities for accomplishing assigned tasks. Certain prerequisites are essential in order to accomplish effective long-range planning, including the existence of a government sector encompassing not only the domain of production but also finances, credit system, foreign and domestic trade. Among the developing countries of Asia, these preconditions exist to the greatest degree in Afghanistan, Syria, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Favorable preconditions have now been created for the further development of economic and technical cooperation with the majority of Asian countries. Large metallurgical enterprises have been built and are under construction in India, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; the design solutions adopted in these projects incorporate possibilities for future increase in output capacity. Rehabilitation has been specified for many enterprises built with Soviet assistance in various sectors of the economy of Turkey, Afghanistan, Syria, Iran, etc. Volume of deliveries of full sets of equipment and materials in the current five-year plan will increase as follows, in comparison with the preceding five-year plan: to Afghanistan -- by a factor of 2.7; to Turkey -- by a factor of 1.8; to India -- by a factor of 2; to the Mongolian People's Republic -- by a factor of 2.6; to Vietnam -- by a factor of almost 3.

\* \* \*

The 26th CPSU Congress specified large and difficult tasks for the entire Soviet people and their economy, emphasizing the imperative necessity of priority growth of machine building, bringing into production new and advanced equipment and technology, and increasing its ability to compete in international markets.

Accomplishment of these tasks will ensure creation of additional conditions for development of external economic relations between the USSR and foreign countries and will make it possible substantially to increase the scale of collaborative activities. In the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans, as well as in subsequent years, alongside the traditional, established areas of cooperation with the countries of Asia, new ones will also probably appear, and the range of utilized forms and methods of economic regulations will expand. The Soviet Union will be able to offer developing countries more assistance in building nuclear power stations, highways and rail lines, in conducting geological exploration activities and in developing offshore oil and gas fields, etc.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Proceedings of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1981, page 196.
2. "World Bank Annual Report," New York, 1981, page 143.
3. PRAVDA, 21 October 1979.

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## UNIQUE FEATURES OF MONGOLIAN HISTORY UNDER SOCIALISM SURVEYED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 36-44

[Article, published under the heading "60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR," by V. I. Titkov: "Specific Features of Building Communism in the MPR"; passages highlighted by use of double-spaced words enclosed in slantlines]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of establishment of the USSR is being celebrated in the MPR as a date marking triumph of the ideas of Leninism and socialist internationalism and the fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples. In the decree issued by the MPRP Central Committee entitled "On Preparation for and Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of Establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," we read: "The birth and development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the comprehensive assistance rendered to Mongolia from the very first days of the People's Revolution of 1921 have been and continue to be a powerful factor in the development and strengthening of the MPR, a reliable guarantee of its independence and security. Thanks to comprehensive, selfless aid from the Soviet people, study and innovative application of their historical experience in the specific conditions of building a new society in their country, the Mongolian people, under the guidance of their revolutionary party, have accomplished a transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism, and are now confidently advancing along the road toward further building of socialism. The party considers as its sacred task the further all-out strengthening of the Mongolian-Soviet friendship, tested and proven in battle and labor -- a powerful source of successes in building socialism."<sup>1</sup>

The 1921 Mongolian People's Revolution was a component element of the process of revolutionary renewal of the world, a process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. It is therefore profoundly logical that the first international act on the part of the Mongolian People's Government was the establishment of relations of alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the world's first socialist state.

The situation which formed in Mongolia in the period preceding the People's Revolution was exceptionally complex. In 1919 the country was seized by Chinese militarists, who established an extraordinarily harsh occupation regime. In the fall of 1920 Mongolia was invaded by the troops of the White Guardist Baron Ungern, who intended to utilize Mongolian soil as a bridgehead for

intervention against Soviet Russia. Mongolia was one of the most backward countries in Asia in a socioeconomic respect. The country lacked industry, its economy, which was based on extensive animal husbandry, had declined, while the downtrodden and illiterate population, which had been subjected to merciless exploitation on the part of secular and clerical feudatories, was essentially on the edge of dying out. The feudal-theocratic elite which was in power at that time, seeking to maintain and consolidate its position, was endeavoring to arouse among the population distrust and suspicion of the young Soviet Republic. Under the influence of the ideas of the Great October Revolution, Mongolia's revolutionaries, its leading citizens -- for the most part originating from the poorest segment of the arat [Mongol herdsmen] masses -- launched a struggle against the foreign oppressors and domestic feudal lords. There arose the objective necessity of establishing a revolutionary party of the toiling arats, which could stand at the head of and lead the revolutionary masses in the forthcoming popular revolution. Such a party was created on the basis of two revolutionary circles in June 1920. It was named the Mongolian's People's Party (the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party from March 1925 on). At its first congress in March 1921, the party adopted a Platform of Struggle, which specified as the main tasks national liberation of that country, transfer of governmental power into the hands of the toiling people, and reform of the nation's public affairs on a democratic basis. Supported by the toiling arats and other progressive strata of the Mongolian society, the party established the Provisional People's Government, formed a people's army of partisan detachments, and led the struggle by the broad masses against the external and domestic oppressors, which developed into a victorious revolution. The government of Soviet Russia, true to its proletarian internationalist duty, carried out the request of the Provisional People's Government to give military assistance in the struggle against its enemies. In the spring of 1921 Soviet and Mongolian troops totally defeated the White Guardist bands of Baron Ungern.

The Theses of the Central Committee of the MPRP entitled "50th Anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution" stated: "The 1921 Mongolian People's Revolution gained victory in conditions of a new historical era, ushered in by the October Revolution, as an integral part of the world revolutionary process. By its nature and tasks it was an anti-imperialist, antifeudal, genuinely popular revolution, radically differing from ordinary bourgeois-democratic revolutions. The popular revolution wrested Mongolia from the colonial system of imperialism and joined it to a new world -- the world of socialism."<sup>2</sup> The burdensome colonialist yoke was removed, the power of the feudal lords was overthrown, and a popular democratic system was established.

Of exceptional importance for determining the future path and development prospects of the popular revolution, for the country as a whole, for organizational and ideological strengthening and consolidation of the MPRP in a Marxist-Leninist position were meetings and talks between V. I. Lenin and representatives of the Mongolian revolutionaries in 1920 and 1921. V. I. Lenin stressed that the only correct path for the toilers of Mongolia "is a struggle for political and economic independence in alliance with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia."<sup>3</sup> The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party had to become a mass party and to prevent its ranks from becoming choked with alien elements. Substantiating the idea of the possibility and necessity of a non-capitalist path of development for the MPR, V. I. Lenin noted that "the main

condition ensuring transition to a road of noncapitalist development is strengthening of the work of the people's revolutionary party and government, so that cooperatives will grow as a result of this work and strengthening of the influence of the party and political power, with new forms of economic management and national culture taking root, with the arats uniting behind the party and government for this country's economic and cultural development. A new, noncapitalist economic system of arat Mongolia will form only from islets of a new economic system, created under the influence of the party and government."<sup>4</sup>

Lenin's ideas form the basis of the general policy line adopted in 1924 at the Third Party Congress, to develop Mongolia along a noncapitalist road. The very first revolutionary measures carried out by the government created as a result of the victorious popular revolution were anti-imperialist and antifeudal in character. Debts to foreign capital were repudiated, and customs duties were placed on goods imported by Chinese and other foreign merchants, who held key positions in the Mongolian market. Of enormous importance was abolition of serf law and the feudal tax system. Democratic agencies of people's authority were established throughout the country.

Of decisive significance for practical implementation of the possibility of Mongolia's transition to a noncapitalist path of development were comprehensive assistance and support rendered to Mongolia by the world's first country of dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet-Mongolian Agreement on Establishment of Friendly Relations between the two countries, signed on 5 November 1921 and drafted with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin and the leader of the Mongolian People's Revolution, D. Suhe-Baatar, laid down a solid political and international-law foundation for the establishment and development of fraternal friendship and close economic cooperation between Mongolia and the Soviet State. This Agreement was fully in conformity with the vital interests of the peoples of both countries, played an important role in strengthening the independence of revolutionary Mongolia, and greatly promoted successful accomplishment of tasks connected with the further development of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

"The experience of Mongolian-Soviet cooperation demonstrated," stressed Yu. Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the MPRP and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, "that the class alliance between the victorious proletariat and the peasantry, which arose in liberation struggle, can be accomplished under certain conditions both on an intergovernmental scale and can secure a noncapitalist road of development toward socialism for a country which has wrested itself from imperialist servitude."<sup>5</sup>

At the democratic stage of the revolution, accomplishment of the tasks of which demanded almost two decades, a number of root socioeconomic reforms were carried out under the leadership of the MPRP, which was consistently implementing Lenin's ideals, reforms affecting practically all areas of the affairs of Mongolian society. Democratization of the country's governmental system continued steadily. The constitutional monarchy was abolished in 1924, and the first People's Great Hural proclaimed Mongolia a people's republic. The first



democratic Constitution, adopted at the same time, stripped secular and clerical feudatories of their political rights and gave toilers the right to vote. A system of toiler hural (assemblies) became the political foundation of the new system.

Following establishment of a popular democratic system, the country's economy was represented by the following economic structural forms: a) state-cooperative (principally small, essentially primitive enterprises, the trans-Mongolian telegraph line, as well as the property of governmental agencies and consumer cooperatives); b) small-scale commodity producing, which included home artisans, indigenous traders, and herdsmen; c) feudal (the class of secular and clerical feudatories who, although stripped of political power, did possess considerable economic potential); d) capitalist, represented by the property of foreign merchants, who controlled the country's entire foreign trade and occupied a dominant position in the domestic market.<sup>6</sup>

Ensuring establishment of an economic base for noncapitalist development, at the democratic stage of the revolution the people's government at first limited and subsequently forced foreign capital completely out of the nation's economy, including Chinese commercial-usurer capital, which was seriously impeding the development of productive forces. Accomplishment of this task took many years.

The most important socioeconomic reforms accomplished by the revolutionary authorities include measures pertaining to settling the land question. It was announced in April 1921 that land, constituting the main asset of the Mongolian people, could not be in unrestricted private possession. Hereditary appanage states -- the hoshuuns -- were abolished in 1923-1924, which led to the total elimination of feudal land ownership. Thus the arats now began working on land which had become the property of all the people. Of course one must consider the fact that livestock -- the principal object of labor in animal husbandry -- continued to remain in private ownership. A radical narrowing of possibilities of exploiting the arats as a result of nationalization of the land, however, was creating favorable opportunities for shifting the arat herdsmen, who had become liberated from feudal bondage and had become free goods producers, via a number of intermediate stages to cooperative animal husbandry.

The revolutionary authorities also took requisite measures to ensure that arat ownership is based solely on personal labor and that there is no possibility of developing into capitalist ownership. One should examine precisely from this standpoint the statute on taxes ratified in 1926, pursuant to which farms with a minimal number of livestock were exempted from paying tax, other categories of farms paid a partial tax, while a progressive tax would be levied on the largest farm. Obstacles were also placed in the way of exploitation of hired labor on large arat farms. As a result of implementation of the above as well as a number of other reforms, which were combined with enormous political, ideological, and indoctrinational work conducted by the MPRP, preconditions were gradually created for further development of the process of cooperative agriculture. Consumer cooperatives -- the first form of cooperative organization of arats -- were replaced by arat production associations (APA), which first appeared in 1934. At first they were joined primarily by the poor. As recently as 1940 the APAs, in spite of material and technical assistance received from the state, contained only 0.2 percent of the

country's total livestock. The process of forming arat farms into cooperatives was completed in 1959, following mass joining of agricultural associations by the middle peasantry. Essential completion of the process of forming cooperatives signified overcoming the mixed-economy character which had existed in the nation's economy.<sup>7</sup>

Accomplishment of the above-described tasks, which were vitally important for the country and the Mongolian people, for a number of years was complicated by the presence within the ranks of the MPRP of "rightist" and leftist" deviations (at the end of the 1920's and beginning of the 1930's). Rightist deviationists sought to revise the party's general policy line of noncapitalist development of that country, strongly supported private enterprise, and ignored the principles of proletarian internationalism, essentially opposing a policy of strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. "Leftist" deviationists, disregarding the objective laws of societal development, ignored the specific features of development of the popular revolution. In particular, they sought to impose on the party a policy of across-the board collectivization of agriculture by establishing kolkhozes and communes by compulsion and administrative edict, committed gross errors in economic and cultural development, and distorted party policy toward religion. The harmful activities of the "rightist" opportunists and "leftists" caused considerable damage to the building of a new life.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, supported by Comintern assistance and innovatively utilizing the experience of the CPSU, the MPRP succeeded in exposing and totally liquidating "rightist" and "leftist" deviations in its ranks and in securing implementation of the designated general policy line.

Of great importance for Mongolia's advance along a noncapitalist road and creation of the essential preconditions for building socialism was the search within Mongolia for effective sources of accumulations and establishment of control over these sources. In the conditions of Mongolia, which lacked domestic large-scale industry at the time of the victory of the People's Revolution, the domain of circulation became one such source. Mongolia's lack of a national currency hindered normal functioning of the system of circulation and at the same time created favorable conditions for the operation of foreign capital. A number of measures were taken to resolve this problem. One of these measures was the formation of a trade and industrial bank with the Soviet Union on a joint stock basis; this bank was assigned the task of providing credit for certain measures of national economic importance. A national currency was issued in 1925 -- the tugrik -- which made it possible not only to force out the foreign currency which was circulating in Mongolia but also to form a national money-credit and financial system and, on the basis of national currency and credit, to establish an MPR state budget. Introduction of a state foreign trade monopoly in 1930 radically undermined the economic position of foreign capital in this country's economy.

"A decisive role in winning and consolidating the economic independence of people's Mongolia," notes the current MPRP Program, "was played by organization, with the aid of the Soviet Union, of consumer cooperatives, a state finance-credit and trade system, introduction of a national currency, creation and development of state and cooperative industry, modern transportation and communications."<sup>8</sup>

In 1932-1934 the MPRP and government of the MPR carried out a number of measures aimed at further development of the national economy and in particular at establishing the foundations of industry, together with which a worker class was born, which by the end of the 1930's had become the leading political force of society.

In other countries which begin the transition to socialism in conditions where capitalism in these countries has already achieved a certain (and comparatively high) level of development, state socialist property is initially formed as a result of nationalization of private capitalist ownership of the principal means of production, while a different situation existed in Mongolia, where all newly formed industrial enterprises were state property at the very outset and were socialist in character. These enterprises -- for processing raw animal products, manufacture of consumer goods, as well as fuel-energy enterprises -- became a genuine and reliable source of accumulation.

The foundations of factory industry in the MPR were laid down at the beginning of the 1930's. During these years a number of large enterprises were built with the direct economic assistance of the Soviet Union, including the country's largest industrial combine, built in Ulaanbaatar in 1934, which became a center for training indigenous worker class cadres. By the beginning of the 1940's industry had become an independent sector of the nation's economy. By 1940 the socialist sector, based primarily on industrial enterprises, was generating more than one fourth of aggregate societal product, while its percentage share in generating national income amounted to 28 percent.<sup>9</sup>

Considerable success was also achieved in cultural development, in improving medical care of the general public, and in boosting the people's living standards. The question of the Lamaist Church and combating its dominance in the economic and spiritual affairs of society was extremely complex. One should bear in mind that for almost two decades following the victory of the People's Revolution, Buddhist monks, lamas, comprised approximately half of the male population. They took no part in productive labor, essentially living as parasites at the expense of the rest of the population and living isolated in monasteries. Endeavoring to weaken the influence of the church on religious believers in conditions where the entire population was deeply religious, the party and government of the MPR pursued a very cautious, patient and flexible policy, which made it possible gradually to isolate the lower from the higher strata of the Lamaist Church and to draw the lower lama strata into socially useful labor activity. An important role was played by the law on separation of church and state, promulgated in 1934, which removed monasteries from any participation in political and economic affairs. The influence of the last bastion of counterrevolution -- the class of clerical feudatories -- was liquidated by the end of the 1930's. "The victory won over the counterrevolutionary, antinational clergy elite," stressed Yu. Tsedenbal, "and the mass transfer of lamas to a secular status by the end of the 1930's, and getting them involved in productive labor are equal in significance to the revolution of 1921."<sup>10</sup>

Thus accomplishment of extremely complex and profound antifeudal, anti-imperialist and anticapitalist reforms, carried out in conditions of fierce resistance

on the part of classes which were leaving the arena of history, classes which were supported from without by the forces of imperialism and reaction, made it possible basically to complete the first -- democratic -- stage of the People's Revolution. A period of gradual development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution began approximately in 1940.

Guided by the decisions of the 10th Congress of the MPRP (April 1940), the Mongolian people proceeded with carrying out an extensive program which called for a further upsurge in the economy and culture and creation of the foundations of socialism. World War II, however, which had broken out, disrupted the normal course of economic and cultural development, which could not help but reflect on the pace of development of this country's productive resources. During the war years the MPR made every effort to strengthen its defense capability, countering the intrigues of the Japanese militarists, who in the east and southeast had advanced right up to Mongolia's borders. In addition, faithful to its internationalist duty and duty as an ally, Mongolia was giving substantial material assistance to the Soviet people and their Red Army, who were waging a heroic fight against the fascist invaders. At the concluding stage of the war the armed forces of the MPR, working in coordination with Soviet forces, took part in the defeat of militarist Japan.

The historic victories won over German fascism and Japanese militarism, with the Soviet Union playing a decisive role, the establishment of a world socialist system, and the root changes which had taken place in the world arena in favor of the forces of socialism and progress created favorable international conditions for continuation of the process of establishing the foundations of socialism in the MPR. Beginning in 1948, its national economy proceeded to develop on the basis of long-range planning, not according to annual plans as had been the case in the past. Two five-year plans and a three-year plan of development of the national economy were formulated and carried out in the period 1948-1960, plans aimed at all-out development of the country's productive resources -- further growth and strengthening of the socialist sector of agriculture and a steady rise in the material and cultural living standards of the masses. New branches of the economy were established with the aid of the Soviet Union -- mining, power industry, and construction industry, and modern rail, motor and air transport experienced further development. By 1960 overall industrial output had increased by a factor of 7.4 over the 1940 level. The worker class, which had become the leading force of the Mongolian society, was continuing to grow and become stronger. Indigenous intelligentsia cadres were formed. Overcoming serious difficulties, the MPRP accomplished completion in 1959 of socialist reorganization of agriculture. The victory of the cooperative system signified that socialist production relations had become dominant in this country's economy. Thus socialism had become reality on Mongolian soil.

The historic achievements of the Mongolian people are formally stated in the present MPR Constitution, adopted in 1960: "In the course of the transition from feudalism to socialism being accomplished by the Mongolian People's Republic, bypassing the capitalist stage, fundamental revolutionary socioeconomic reforms have become accomplished in conformity with the teaching of V. I. Lenin, a new, socialist economy has been created, a victory of socialist production relations has been achieved throughout the nation's economy, and enormous historic



successes have been achieved in raising the material and cultural living standards of the toilers."<sup>11</sup>

Having built the foundations of socialism, at the beginning of the 1960's the Mongolian People's Republic entered a new period in its development -- a period of completion of the building of socialism. The MPRP Program adopted at the 15th Party Congress (1966) defines the fundamental task of this period as follows: /"Under the guidance of their tested and proven vanguard -- the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party -- the Mongolian people will achieve the complete building of socialism and will create conditions for the subsequent gradual transition to building a Communist society -- our great ultimate goal."/<sup>12</sup> The last two decades have been marked by substantial successes by the toilers of the MPR in carrying out the party's plans. Mongolia is being substantially transformed from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian republic. According to figures of the MPR Central Statistical Administration, at the present time industry, construction, transportation and communications together generate 46 percent of national income and 64 percent of the country's societal product. Profound changes are taking place in the structure of the economy: in 1960 the percentage share of socialist industry was 55.3 percent of total industrial and agricultural output, while by 1980 its share had reached 75.6 percent.<sup>13</sup>

One graphic evidence of the profound changes which are taking place in MPR societal affairs is the fact that the worker class, as a result of a policy of national industrialization which is being implemented by the MPRP in a planned and orderly manner, is today not only the largest class but also produces the bulk of societal product, while this in turn dictates a steady increase in the role and significance of the worker class in society. The percentage share of blue-collar and white-collar workers (together with the members of their families) now exceeds 60 percent, and that of blue-collar workers exceeds 40 percent, compared with the 47 and 29 percent respectively in 1963.<sup>14</sup>

The highest principle of action adopted by the MPRP is securement of a steady rise in material and cultural living standards for the people. And this task is being successfully accomplished. During the years of people's rule, generated national income per capita has increased eightfold, while during that same period the country's population has more than doubled. By 1980 real income of the MPR toilers had increased by a factor of 3.5 over 1960.

A genuine revolution has taken place in the area of education, culture, health care, and science.<sup>15</sup>

The Mongolian people have achieved substantial additional successes under the guidance of the MPRP and with the diversified fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union during the years of the 6th Five-Year Plan (1976-1980). The fixed productive assets of the national economy increased by a factor of 1.7, generated aggregate societal product increased by 35 percent, and national income by 30.9 percent. Much was accomplished to strengthen the material and technological foundation of agriculture, both in animal husbandry and in crop farming. Many new farms were established, and 279,000 hectares of virgin land was brought into production. Farms received large numbers of tractors, grain harvesting combines, trucks and special vehicles, as well as other agricultural equipment, plus



approximately 200,000 tons of mineral fertilizers. Power output capacity in agriculture has more than tripled just in the last 20 years.<sup>16</sup>

Industrial output volume increased by a factor of 1.5 during the years of the five-year plan. New industrial centers were built. Large facilities brought on-line include a giant of the MPR mining industry — the joint Mongolian-Soviet Erdenet Copper and Molybdenum Combine.

The successes achieved by this republic's toilers in recent years are indicated by the fact that in a number of economic and cultural growth indicators the MPR is outstripping many Asian countries, and not only Asian. This applies in particular to per capita production of meat, wool and wheat, electric power and solid fuel, certain mineral raw materials and nonferrous metals, as well as number of persons enrolled in school, number of college undergraduates, number of doctors and other specialists per 10,000 population.<sup>17</sup>

An important role in this was played by the fact that on 5 June 1962 the MPR joined the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA). Twenty years of experience of cooperation by the MPR in CEMA has favorably affected acceleration of development of this country's productive resources and formation of an optimal national economic complex, taking into consideration the advantages of international socialist division of labor. During these years the republic's fixed assets of the national economy have increased more than sixfold, generated gross societal product has tripled, and industrial output has increased almost sixfold, with an average annual growth rate of more than 9 percent. The fuel-energy and mining industry, the construction industry, light industry and the food processing industry have experienced particularly substantial and rapid development. Major milestones have been achieved in strengthening the material and technological foundation of agriculture. The material and cultural living standards of the Mongolian people have improved.<sup>18</sup>

Of great importance were the results of the 36th CEMA meeting in Budapest in June 1982. The results of this meeting demonstrated once again that effective coordination within the framework of CEMA promotes gradual drawing together of the levels of economic and social development of the socialist countries. In particular, this is graphically manifested in the example of Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia. The meeting specified their even more extensive participation in international socialist division of labor and creation of preferential conditions of cooperation for them.

Just as in preceding years, multifaceted cooperation between the MPR -- an active member of CEMA -- the USSR and other socialist countries developed successfully in the period 1976-1980. In this five-year period MPR foreign trade volume increased by a factor of 1.5, and 90 percent of this foreign trade volume is with CEMA member nations, and the bulk of trade is with the USSR. As is noted by Politburo member Molomjants, MPRP Central Committee secretary, "a determining role in our country's achievements has been played and continues to be played by the genuinely fraternal, steadily increasing assistance of the Soviet Union. This is eloquently attested by the fact that in the period 1976-1980 approximately 150 different facilities of production and cultural-services designation came on-line with Soviet assistance."<sup>19</sup>

New, even larger-scale and more important tasks pertaining to further increasing the country's economic potential and increasing the people's prosperity were assigned to the party and country by the 18th MPRP Congress, held in May 1981. The congress ratified the principal directions of development of the national economy and culture of the MPR in the period 1981-1985.<sup>20</sup> "The 7th Five-Year Plan," stressed Yu. Tsedenbal, "will become a new and important stage in implementation of the program tasks of the MPRP pertaining to strengthening the material and technological foundation of socialism, improving societal relations, intensifying efforts at Communist indoctrination of the toilers, and consolidating the socialist way of life. A high rate of economic growth has been specified."<sup>21</sup> Plans call for increasing volume of aggregate societal product by 41-45 percent, and national income by 38-41 percent. Average annual output volume is to increase by 22-26 percent over the preceding five-year plan. Principal attention will be focused on strengthening and more efficient development and utilization of the material and technological foundation of animal husbandry and crop-farming agriculture. New industrial facilities will be built, and existing enterprises will be expanded and rehabilitated. As a result, gross industrial output in 1985 will increase by 52-58 percent over 1960. The size of the worker class is growing, and qualitative changes are also taking place within it: the level of job qualifications and education is rising, and sons are following in their fathers' footsteps joining worker ranks. Many tens of thousands of boys and girls will become involved in agrarian production. Indigenous intelligentsia cadres will grow substantially.

An extensive program for boosting living standards will be carried out in the 7th Five-Year Plan: cash income of toilers will rise, particularly for rural workers, public consumption funds will increase, as will pensions and benefits. All this should lead to a 10-12 percent increase in real per capita income.

An important place in the work of the 18th MPRP Congress is occupied by matters pertaining to further strengthening Mongolian-Soviet cooperation, study of the Soviet experience, its practical utilization, and further rapprochement with the USSR in all realms of material production and societal affairs. The congress stressed that all achievements by the MPR and its plans for the future are connected with the traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union.<sup>22</sup>

The Soviet Union in turn has done and is continuing to do everything it can to help the MPR achieve in a reasonable period of time the level of the economically developed socialist countries. It is significant in this connection that in the 7th Five-Year Plan the volume of Soviet assistance to Mongolia will almost double in comparison with the corresponding figure from the previous five-year plan.

Characterizing the development and substance of Soviet-Mongolian relations, L. I. Brezhnev noted: "Many changes have taken place since the birth of the fighting alliance of proletarian socialist Russia and free Mongolia. But as regards our relations, one feature has been and continues to be immutable. It is a profound trust in one another. It is rooted in the historic meeting between Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and the Mongolian revolutionary delegation headed

by Suhe-Baatar. This trust is a direct result of the internationalist policy of our parties, our mutual comradely attention toward each other's concerns and interests. Throughout the entire history of our friendship, and Mongolia is the Soviet Union's oldest friend, our relations have always been truly heartfelt, sincere, and brotherly. We can rightly be proud of this!"<sup>23</sup>

The prestige and reputation of the MPR in the international arena are growing steadily. Together with the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community, the MPR firmly and consistently advocates strengthening the international position, unity and solidarity of the socialist nations, peace and security of peoples, and opposes the arms race and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, and advocates international détente. "Offering, together with the brother countries, a decisive rebuff to the intrigues of the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism," stresses Yu. Tsedenbal, "the MPR -- an equal member of the large and amicable family of socialist nations, united by the common goal of building socialism and communism -- will continue in the future marching confidently along the bright road of building a new society, a road pointed out by the great Lenin."<sup>24</sup>

The friendly meeting between L. I. Brezhnev and Yu. Tsedenbal held in the Crimea this past August constituted new evidence of the indissoluble friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP, the Soviet and Mongolian peoples, and the close coordination of their foreign policy in the campaign for peace and the security of peoples. A decree issued by the MPRP Central Committee Politburo noted in particular that the special importance of this meeting lies in the fact that it was held in an important year for the peoples of the nations of the socialist community and all progressive mankind, the year in which the 60th anniversary of establishment of the USSR is being celebrated.<sup>25</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. UNEN, 20 June 1982.
2. NOVOSTI MONGOLII, 8 May 1971.
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4. Ibid., page 233.
5. Yumzhagiyn Tsedenbal, "Glorious 60th Anniversary of the MPRP," KOMMUNIST, No 4, 1981, page 93.
6. See Puntsagdashiyin Luvsandorzh, "Bypassing Capitalism," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 3, 1982, page 50.
7. Ibid., page 52.
8. "XV s'yezd Mongol'skoy narodno-revolutsionnoy partii" [15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party], Moscow, 1966, page 170.

9. Luvsandorzh, op. cit., page 54.
10. Tsedenbal, op. cit., page 94.
11. "Mongol'skaya Narodnaya Respublika. Konstitutsiya i zakonodatel'nyye akty" [Mongolian People's Republic. Constitution and Legislative Enactments], Moscow, 1981, pp 26-27.
12. "Programma Mongol'skoy narodno-revolyutsionnoy partii" [Program of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party], Ulaanbaatar, 1981, page 65.
13. Tsedenbal, op. cit., page 96.
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16. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo MNR za 60 let (1921-1981). Yubileynyy statisticheskiy sbornik" [60 Years of the National Economy of the MPR (1921-1981). Jubilee Statistical Report], Ulaanbaatar, 1981, pp 248-249.
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18. NOVOSTI MONGOLII, 11 June 1982.
19. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 9, 1981, page 39.
20. NOVOSTI MONGOLII, 2 June 1981.
21. Tsedenbal, "Along the Road Pointed Out by Lenin," PRAVDA, 10 June 1982.
22. UNEN, 27 June 1981.
23. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [Following a Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 6, pp 129-130.
24. Tsedenbal, "Glorious...", op. cit., page 103.
25. UNEN, 30 August 1982.

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## ACTIVITIES OF AZERBAIJAN MIDEAST INSTITUTE DESCRIBED

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[Article, published under the heading "60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR," by Z. M. Bunyatov, Baku: "Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Peoples of the Near and Middle East"]

[Excerpt] A qualitatively new stage in the development of Azerbaijan Eastern studies began with establishment of the Institute of Eastern Studies (since renamed as Institute of Peoples of the Near and Middle East) in 1958 within the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences system: the geographic region and principal areas of research were defined, highly qualified specialists were trained and assembled, and the principal social sciences disciplines became independent branches within the science of Eastern Studies. The institute's immediate tasks were as follows: on a foundation of Marxist-Leninist methodology, to provide an analysis of the historical development of the countries of the Near and Middle East in modern and most recent times, to investigate relevant problems of the contemporary era, as well as the historical past of the peoples of the countries in this region, to expose the phony notions of bourgeois science, which attempts to distort the true history of the peoples of the East, and to help strengthen the USSR-domestic and international ties of Eastern Studies within this republic.

As the institute's staff of scholars grew and as top-level cadres joined the staff, the subject matter of research activities in the field of Eastern Studies expanded and gradually became richer. The efforts of the staff are concentrated primarily on a combined study of relevant problems of history, economics, sociopolitical thought and philology of the countries of the Near and Middle East, as well as on preparation and publication of written monuments on the history and culture of the peoples of the East. Leading areas of Eastern Studies in this republic include Iranian studies, Turkic studies, study of the historical and cultural heritage of the peoples of the East, and Arabic studies. The institute presently consists of 11 scientific subdivisions: departments of history -- Eastern Medieval, Iran, Turkey, the Arab countries; a department of economics; a department of Iranian, Turkish, and Arabic philology; a department of ideological problems; a department of study and publication of written monuments of peoples of the East. The following sectors were established at the institute in 1981: history of the countries of the Near and Middle East, Eastern philology and the Medieval East.



The institute devotes considerable attention to historical research, in particular history of the countries of the Near and Middle East, and especially Iran and Turkey. Historical research has also dealt with the recent past of the countries of this region, but primarily covers the most recent period in the history of the non-Soviet East.

The institute's scholars have made a substantial contribution toward the study of class structures in Iran, investigation of the history of the worker and trade union movement in that country, etc.<sup>1</sup>

A number of studies deal with history of the revolutionary, national liberation and worker movement in specific countries of the Near and Middle East,<sup>2</sup> major stages in the political history of Iran, history of establishment of the Iranian Communist Party, etc.<sup>3</sup> Questions pertaining to the sociopolitical development of Turkey in modern and most recent times are objects of comprehensive analysis.<sup>4</sup> Considerable work has been done in the area of investigation of agrarian relations and the agrarian-peasant question in Iran in modern and most recent times,<sup>5</sup> in Iranian Kurdistan in the 19th and first half of the 20th century, and in contemporary Syria. A number of studies deal with the anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of this region,<sup>6</sup> development of Soviet-Turkish relations,<sup>7</sup> education and culture in the Turkish Republic,<sup>8</sup> and beginnings of a bourgeois and democratic intelligentsia in Iran.<sup>9</sup> Results of investigation of the history of Iranian foreign policy, the basic principles, directions and trends in the foreign policy of Iranian ruling circles in 1920-1941 are presented in writings by S. L. Agayev.<sup>10</sup> O. S. Melikov has examined an important period in the history of Iran, showing the distribution and interaction of political forces which led to the coming to power in that country of the Pahlavi dynasty, as well as the social and political essence of the Reza Shah dictatorship.<sup>11</sup> Works have been published which deal with the history of penetration of Iran by U.S. and German imperialism.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to relevant problems of the present day, the institute devotes serious attention to problems of the Middle Ages, especially the Arab, where the main emphasis is placed on the study of popular movements and governmental structures in the Near and Middle East in the Middle Ages. The author of this article, for example, on the basis of a survey and critical selection of available medieval written sources in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac, as well as the writings of contemporary authors published in the USSR and abroad, discussed various aspects of the economic and social life of the state of the Atabeks -- the rulers of Azerbaijan, Northern Iran and suzerains of a number of other Middle East feudal dynasties in the latter half of the 12th and first quarter of the 13th century.<sup>13</sup> A number of works discuss history of the emergence of sects in Islam (the Azrakit sect), the Zinj insurrection in the Abbasid caliphate, and the states of the Tulunids and Ikhshidids. Research on the state of the Atabeks of Mosul and the Karmat movement is in the completion stages.

Scientific elaboration of the problems of economic development of the countries of the Near and Middle East is a comparatively young but successfully developing branch of Eastern studies in Azerbaijan. The main thrust of economics research in the area of Eastern studies consists of study of the paths

and specific features of economic development of Turkey, Iran, and the Arab countries. Principal attention is devoted to analysis of the problems of the contemporary era. A central position in investigations of Azerbaijan economists specializing in the Near and Middle East is occupied by the problem of state capitalism in Turkey and Iran.<sup>14</sup> They are studying the various aspects of external economic relations, particularly foreign trade and the foreign trade policy of the countries of the region, their economic and technical cooperation with socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.<sup>15</sup> They are also studying the problem of foreign capital in the economy of developing countries of the East.<sup>16</sup> The institute's scholars have written more than 20 works examining the economic platforms and policies of the ruling parties and governments of the countries in the region, the status of the various branches and sectors of their economy, and the finance policy of Turkey, Iran, and the countries of the Arab East.

Serious attention is focused on problems of ideology, social and philosophical thought of the peoples of the non-Soviet East, in particular progressive philosophical thought and dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism in the countries of the region.<sup>17</sup> A number of studies criticize bourgeois falsifications of the philosophy of Marxism, as well as the notions of Turkish bourgeois nationalists.<sup>18</sup> Studies have been published which deal with Sufism<sup>19</sup> -- one of the most widespread religious-mystic currents in the culture of the Muslim East -- and investigation of the theoretical legacy of prominent Azerbaijani scholars who have made an appreciable contribution to the intellectual and ideological history of the Eastern peoples.<sup>20</sup> Subjects of study include theoretical questions pertaining to art and the influence of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics on progressive Eastern aesthetic thought.

Investigation and publication of written monuments of the peoples of the East is one of the important areas of the institute's activities. And although this branch of Oriental studies, which presents valuable material for a broad spectrum of scholarly investigations, has traditional roots, a genuinely scientific foundation for the development of reference science in this republic was laid down in 1938 in connection with preparations for marking the 800th anniversary of the great poet and thinker Nizami Ganjevi. A scholarly-critical publication of the texts of the famous "Khamse" ("Five") of this poet, based on the earliest and most complete texts extant in this country and abroad, was prepared in the postwar years. Initially primary emphasis was placed on studying the Persian-language historical-cultural legacy of the peoples of the East. Considerable credit for publication of Persian-language monuments of the Medieval East goes to Academician A. A. Alizade.<sup>21</sup>

Critical texts of the poems "Madzhnun i Layli" (Moscow, 1964, 1965, 1975) and "Matla-ul'-anvar" (Moscow, 1975) by the Indian Persian-language poet (Amir Khosrow Dehlavi), as well as their philological-textologic investigation in a comparative aspect were published by T. A. Magerramov.

Considerable work has been done by A. G. Ragimov in discovering and publishing unique manuscripts; he has published six works of the 16th century Persian poet Abdi-bek Shirazi,<sup>22</sup> and "Divan" by Badr-Shirvani (Moscow, 1981), which contains verses of unique subject matter in the Azerbaijani and Persian languages. A

study by A. A. Kuliye<sup>23</sup> deals with 18th century Azerbaijani traveler (Ganji Zeyn al-Abedin Shirvani), who collected a wealth of valuable information on the history, ways and customs of the peoples of the non-Soviet East, from Arabia to India. He has also prepared scholarly-critical texts of "Bustan Assiyakha" by G. Z. Shirvani (Moscow, 1975) and the writings "Khakikat Al-Khakaik" (Moscow, 1981).

In the 1970's there was an appreciable increase in activity in the area of study and publication of Arab-language written monuments of the medieval East. Considerable attention was devoted to publication of commentary-accompanied translations into the Russian and Azerbaijani languages of manuscripts and writings of medieval authors, which constitutes a new stage in the development of reference science at the institute. Unique medieval sources dealing with the history and geography of Azerbaijan in the era of feudalism and on the history of Central Asia, the Caucasus, and contiguous countries and regions have been published in translation.<sup>24</sup> Meriting mention are the reference-science studies of M. I. Shamsi and N. M. Velikhanova.<sup>25</sup>

Philological investigations at the institute are conducted in three principal areas. These include primarily study of the writings of the major writers of Iran, Turkey, and the Arab East,<sup>26</sup> as well as the life, works, and literary-theoretical views of eminent poets and figures in medieval Islamic culture.<sup>27</sup> Synthesizing scholarly works are written on a number of theoretical problems pertaining to the development of Eastern literatures: traditions and innovation in the poetry of 20th century Iran,<sup>28</sup> democratic ideas in 19th-20th century Persian literature, theoretical principles of the aruz in Eastern literatures,<sup>29</sup> satire in Turkish literature, literary-aesthetic views of writers contributing to the journal SERVETI-FYUNUN, the novel genre in contemporary Egyptian literature, the Egyptian novella,<sup>30</sup> realism in the postwar Iraqi novella, etc. A team of specialists in literary criticism and analysis at the institute are working on the following topics: "20th Century Iranian Literature" -- one of the volumes of the multivolume academic history of Persian-Tajik literature, "Essays on History of 19th Century Turkish Literature," and "Social Motifs in Contemporary Arab Literature."

An important area of philological research is study of the artistic and ideological-thematic features of the works of leading Eastern poets and writers, the interlinkage and mutual influence of Eastern literatures, and the contribution of representatives of Azerbaijani literature to the so-called medieval Islamic literature of the East.<sup>31</sup>

Institute philologists have made a substantial contribution to study of Eastern linguistics.<sup>32</sup>

The results of research conducted by institute staff members on various problems of Eastern studies are also published in specific-subject volumes.<sup>33</sup>

Eastern studies research by Azerbaijan scholars is done in a close link with and in productive partnership with Eastern studies establishments in Moscow, Leningrad, Transcaucasia and the republics of Central Asia. Moscow scholars give considerable help to the republic in training highly-qualified Eastern studies cadres. A large contribution toward training the first generation of

Azerbaijan Soviet Eastern studies specialists was made by such prominent scholars as academicians N. Ya. Marr, I. I. Meshchaninov, V. V. Bartol'd, A. N. Samoylovich, professors I. N. Oshmarin, A. A. Romaskevich, R. E. Shor, P. K. Zhuze, A. S. Gubaydullin, as well as such prominent scholars of the following generation as academicians A. N. Kononov, Ye. A. Belyayev, B. N. Zakhoder, I. M. Reysner, A. F. Miller, B. M. Dantsig, I. P. Petrushevskiy, A. N. Boldyrev, and others.

The institute has engaged in fruitful collaboration with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies in matters of coordination of scholarly subject matter plans, preparation for and holding of scientific meetings and conferences, and writing specific collective works.

A considerable contribution to Eastern studies has been made by institute scholars by participation in the All-Union Meeting on the History and Economy of Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey (Baku, 1962), the All-Union Scientific Meeting entitled "The National Liberation Movement and Questions of the Struggle Against Contemporary Anticommunism" (Baku, 1971), the All-Union Scientific Conference entitled "Current Problems of the Contemporary National Liberation Movement" (1974), and the International Scientific Conference entitled "The Great October Socialist Revolution and the National Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America" (Baku, 1977). Institute scholars also take active part in various conferences, meetings, and symposiums held in other Oriental studies centers in the Soviet Union.

Ties between the institute and Oriental studies centers and scholars in the Polish People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the GDR, the Hungarian People's Republic, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Libya, Great Britain, France, and other countries are developing and broadening. These include personal contacts and scholarly correspondence, exchange of books and ordering of photocopies, microfilms and valuable manuscripts, visiting scientific establishments, participation in scholarly activities, training of cadres, publication of scholarly works in local national publications, and scholarly travel.

Institute scholars have represented Soviet Oriental studies at international Oriental studies congresses, conferences, and symposiums at the 24th, 25th, 27th, and 29th International Oriental Studies congresses (FRG, USSR, Australia, France), at the last five congresses of the Turkish Historical Society (Ankara), at the 7th International Aesthetics Congress (Bucharest), at international symposiums on the ideology of Kemalism and theoretical problems of Eastern literatures (GDR and Czechoslovakia), a congress of the Turkish Linguistics Society (Ankara), etc. Just in the last few years 50 scholarly pieces by Azerbaijan Eastern studies specialists have been published in Bulgaria, the GDR, France, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, and in other countries in the Near and Middle East.

Graduate students from Bulgaria, Turkey, and the Republic of Iraq have defended candidate dissertations at the institute. Specialized councils are operating at the institute: a council for defense of doctoral dissertations in the areas of specialization "General History" and "History of the Communist and Worker Movement and National Liberation Movements," and a council for conferral of the scholarly degree of candidate of philological sciences in the area



of specialization "Literature of the Peoples of the Non-Soviet Countries of Asia and Africa."

Thus the staff at the AzSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Peoples of the Near and Middle East, engaging in diversified research on relevant problems of neighboring countries of the East, has achieved numerous successes and has demonstrated scholarly maturity.

The 26th CPSU Congress provided new impulses for further research in Eastern Studies, at the same time assigning this science complex and responsible tasks. The efforts of the institute's staff in the current five-year period and the following decade are focused on further detailed study of current problems of contemporary development of neighboring countries in the Near and Middle East. Attention will be centered on key problems of the contemporary stage of the national liberation movement, analysis of new phenomena and processes in the sociopolitical and economic affairs of neighboring countries of the East, problems of aggravation of the ideological struggle and further development of the revolutionary process in the region. Expanded research is being conducted on the policies of imperialist nations in the Near and Middle East, the struggle of the peoples of the East against imperialism and neocolonialism and for economic independence. These problems will be investigated within the framework of such topics as "Revolutionary and Liberation Movements of Peoples of the Non-Soviet East," "Fundamental Changes in the Social and Political Development of the Countries of the Near and Middle East," "Countries of the Near and Middle East in the System of Modern International Relations," "Problems of Economic Development and the Struggle Against Neocolonialism," and "Dissemination of the Ideas of Socialism and the Ideological Struggle" in the countries of the region.

Important tasks of Eastern studies in this republic include investigation of the role and place of the religious (Islamic) factor in the societal affairs of the nations of the Near and Middle East. There is a great deal of work to be done in training highly qualified cadres of Islamic studies specialists.

Azerbaijani communities in the non-Soviet East, the place of the Azerbaijan SSR in political, cultural, and economic relations between the USSR and the countries of the Near and Middle East will become focal points of comprehensive study.

Study of medieval written monuments of the East continues to be one of the leading areas of scientific research activity by the institute staff. In this area, in addition to intensification of efforts pertaining to study, scholarly description, translation and publication of the large number of works by medieval authors, other manuscripts and materials preserved in the manuscript collection of the republic Academy of Sciences, works which shed light on many aspects pertaining to the history, socioeconomic, sociopolitical and cultural affairs of the peoples of the Near and Middle East, a great deal of research remains to be done in order to discover and make available to the scholarly community unique monuments of the literature, science and culture of the Azerbaijani people to be found in manuscript collections and libraries abroad. A commission has been set up under the auspices of the Presidium of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, tasked with determining a criterion for selecting written monuments for research on history of social thought and culture of Azerbaijan and the countries of the



Near and Middle East, as well as preparation for publication of classic written works of literature during the coming 20 years.

There will be continuation and intensification of investigation of the mechanisms and specific features of precapitalist development of the countries of the Near and Middle East, the many centuries of ties between the Azerbaijani people and other Eastern peoples, current problems of the literatures of the non-Soviet East, and study of contemporary socioeconomic problems of the countries of the Arab East.

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## STUDIES OF INNER ASIAN HISTORY, LINGUISTICS IN KAZAKHSTAN SURVEYED

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[Article, published under the heading "60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR," by R. B. Suleymenov and V. A. Moiseyev, Alma-Ata: "Eastern Studies in the Kazakh SSR"]

[Text] Innovatively further developing the traditions of Soviet Oriental Studies and assimilating the wealth of experience amassed by Soviet science during the 60 years of existence of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan's scholars are devoting considerable attention to study of the history of the Kazakh and other brother peoples of Central Asia. They see their task as revealing the historical roots which nourish the friendship of our country's peoples and investigating the diversified mutual links between the Kazakh people and the peoples of neighboring countries of the East.

The history of the Kazakh people is a component part of the history of the USSR and at the same time is an integral component of world history. The Kazakh ethnocultural domain, as has been convincingly shown by scholars working at many Eastern studies centers in the Soviet Union, arose and developed in a close relationship with adjacent ethnic groups, particularly the peoples of Inner Asia and Siberia. Research conducted by Kazakhstan scholars objectively promotes accomplishment of these important tasks facing Soviet Orientalists. It is the purpose of this article to describe research conducted in this republic in the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's dealing with the history and culture not only of Kazakhstan but also of the peoples of neighboring countries of the East.<sup>1</sup>

The center of historical research in Kazakhstan is the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography imeni Ch. Ch. Valikhanov of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, which coordinates and directs the work of this republic's historians. In the last two five-year plans alone the institute's scholars completed work on 29 major topics and prepared approximately 70 works.<sup>2</sup> The most important of these projects was publication of a solid investigation of the history of the Kazakh SSR (from ancient times to the present day), in which contemporary achievements of Kazakhstan historiography are reflected.<sup>3</sup> These achievements are quite substantial. For example, the results of archeological investigations conducted in the last 10 years in various parts of the republic enable us to state with assurance not only that there has been a continuity of revolutionary

development of the material and intellectual culture of the Turkic peoples which populated the territory of Kazakhstan in ancient and medieval times, but also that the sociocultural process of the entire region is of a single type. At the same time archeological material attests to the non-uniform development of different zones in an economic, social and cultural respect and enables one to trace the paths and time of migrations of a number of Turkic and Mongol tribes, to determine the approximate boundaries of spread of various cultures, to refine and detail the period and causes of the emergence of nomadic animal husbandry. Archeological data have helped Kazakhstan historians settle the question of the emergence of classes in the proto-Kazakh society and have confirmed the conclusion that the ancient inhabitants of Kazakhstan bypassed a slaveowning system and transitioned from a primitive communal system to feudalism. Slavery did not play a significant role in the process of production and was of a domestic, patriarchal character.<sup>4</sup>

The unique treasures from the Issyk burial mound prompted scholars to revise established concepts on the level of socioeconomic and cultural development of the Saka tribes of the 6th-5th centuries B.C. and acknowledge the possibility that they had writing.<sup>5</sup> As time has shown, the method of parallel study of monuments of nomadic and settled cultures, chosen by Kazakhstan archeologists, has proven quite fruitful. For example, many years of investigations by archaeologists at the Otrar Oasis -- Otrar, Sauran, Sygnak, Ordakent, Karachuk, Arkuk, Shavgar, and elsewhere in the republic, attest to the extensive spread of urban culture in medieval Kazakhstan. Analysis of new material has made it possible to refine and detail a number of important historical events, ethnic names, the location of ancient towns, and to elucidate the character of interrelations between the nomadic and settled segments of the population. Numerous finds of coins have told scientists about the existence of developed commodity-money relations in the medieval towns of Kazakhstan.<sup>6</sup> To date this republic's archeologists have surveyed and placed on the archeological map of Kazakhstan more than 15,000 historical monuments, study of which unquestionably will help solve many of the problems of Turkic and Mongol studies.

In recent years data from narrative sources has been extensively utilized to reconstruct Kazakhstan's ancient and medieval history. In 1974 the institute established a department of history of ancient and medieval Kazakhstan. The efforts of the department staff are concentrated on discovering, translating, and making available to the scholarly community little-known sources in Arabic, Persian, and Chinese. Data obtained from the Eastern writings of B. Ye. Kumekov, K. A. Pishchulina, Yu. A. Zuyev, N. N. Mingulov, V. N. Nastich, A. Sh. Kadyrbayev, and V. K. Shukhovtsov have made it possible partially to resolve some questions pertaining to the ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people, the political history of the medieval state entities of the Kimaks, Karluks, Kipchaks, the level and specific features of their societal system, historical geography, epigraphy, and numismatics.<sup>7</sup> The scholarly community had high praise for a monograph written by a member of this department, K. A. Pishchulina, entitled "Southeastern Kazakhstan in the Middle of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century" (1977). Using materials from Persian-language sources of the Chagataid and Timurid periods as well as archeological data, the author investigated the socioeconomic and political history of Mogulistan, analyzed the causes of its decline, and traced the initial process of formation of the Kazakh Khanate.<sup>8</sup> A collection of articles, the materials of which drew the

attention of Soviet Orientalists, was prepared in 1981 under the editorship of KaSSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. Kh. Margulan.<sup>9</sup>

Eastern studies topics are addressed in the writings of Kazakhstan historians dealing with study of this region's annexation to Russia.<sup>10</sup> The authors discuss the lengthy and complex process of annexation of the Kazakh khanates to the Russian state and reveal the progressive consequences of this historical stage. Analyzing the external political preconditions for the drawing together and subsequent annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, these scholars devote considerable attention to the history of the struggle of the Kazakh people against invasions by Oyrat feudal lords and Manchu dynasty emperors, and describe relations between the Kazakh hordes and the feudal domains of Central Asia.

Of definite value, especially for specialists in history of nomadic peoples, are investigations by Kazakhstan ethnographers studying ethnic processes which took place on the territory of Kazakhstan and neighboring areas in ancient and medieval times. The work done by ethnographers and anthropologists in studying the population distribution and ethnic composition of tribes and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Kazakhstan, as well as study of the traditions and customs, cults and religious beliefs of the Kazakh people, unquestionably is broadening and deepening our knowledge of the history of the nomadic peoples of Asia.<sup>11</sup>

An important place in the writings of the institute's scientists is assigned to the history of nomadism, including study and dissemination of experience in transitioning to a settled way of life by the nomadic and seminomadic population of Kazakhstan, socialist reforms in the Kazakh village, CPSU nationalities and agrarian policy in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.<sup>12</sup>

As study of the history of Kazakhstan proceeded, the need to expand the reference-science base and to shift from studying relations between the Kazakh khanates and neighboring peoples and states to investigation of the history and culture of adjacent countries of the East was becoming increasingly more obvious. In connection with this, in 1979 the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography formed a department of Oriental studies headed by KaSSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member R. B. Suleymenov.

The department has been assigned the task of preparing by 1984 a volume of collected documents and materials on history of relations between the Kazakh khanates and the peoples and states of Central Asia in the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, focusing particular attention on study of the character and features of Kazakh-Chinese relations. At the present time department staff members K. Sh. Khafizova, V. N. Fedorov, and V. A. Moiseyev are working on looking for, finding, translating and interpreting documents in Chinese and Russian in this country's libraries and archives. In addition, a special group of reference science specialists has been formed, which includes young staff members with knowledge of the Persian, Turkic and Arabic languages (group leader -- M. Kh. Abuseitova). The group's work program, drawn up with the aid and assistance of such a highly qualified expert as V. P. Yudin, includes discovery, recording, copying and translation of Eastern manuscripts pertaining to the history of Kazakhstan, manuscripts contained in Soviet archives, museums, and libraries.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to work involving reference source materials, department staff members are continuing study of various aspects of international relations in Central Asia in the 17th through 19th centuries. K. Sh. Khafizova is examining the policies of the Manchu Empire in relation to the Kazakh khanates in the latter half of the 18th century. On the basis of an extensive number of Chinese sources, she has analyzed the forms and methods of activity of Manchu diplomacy in Central Asia, the reasons for and process of military invasions by Manchu-Chinese troops into the frontier areas of Kazakhstan, and has shown the true nature of relations between certain khans and sultans of the Middle Hordes and the Manchu authorities.<sup>14</sup>

Articles by V. A. Moiseyev deal with the policies of the Manchu Empire in the northwestern part of Central Asia in the first half of the 18th century. They investigate questions connected with the Manchu invasion of Tuva and the Altai, the struggle by the peoples of the Sayan-Altai uplands against the invaders, and discuss certain elements of the history of the Dzungarian Khanate.<sup>15</sup>

Department staff members are preparing, jointly with Tashkent and Frunze historians, a collected volume of articles commemorating the 250th anniversary of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, entitled "Kazakhstan, Srednyaya and Tsentral'naya Aziya v 16-nachale 20 v" [Kazakhstan, Middle Asia and Central Asia in the 16th-Beginning of the 19 Centuries]. V. N. Fedorov is working on compiling a three-language Chinese-Russian-Uighur dictionary. Department staff members will take part working on problems of penetration and spread of world religions in the region -- Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity and, at a broader level, synthesis of the nomadic and Arab-Islamic cultures, problems which have been little studied in Kazakhstan as well as in Soviet historiography.<sup>16</sup> Initial steps have been taken in the area of studying the economic, scientific and cultural relations between the Kazakh SSR and the countries of Asia, and the historiography of Kazakhstan Oriental studies is being formulated.

The Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences is one of our country's leading Turkic studies centers. Combined investigations in the field of Turkic studies are being carried out in a systematic manner at the Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Literature and Art imeni M. O. Auezov.

Scholars at the Institute of Linguistics are working on complex and current problems of historical grammar, etymology, onomastics, and are studying the history of formation and development of the Kazakh national and literary language, the problem of its interaction with other languages of our country's peoples, and are taking part in preparing a "Dialect Atlas of the Turkic Languages."

Dictionaries of various types have been published in the two preceding five-year plans: an orthographic dictionary, an etymological dictionary, a dialectologic dictionary, a pronunciation dictionary, etc. Lexicographers are continuing work on preparing for publication of a 10-volume "Explanatory Dictionary of the Kazakh Language," which will make it possible to systematize the lexicaphraseological wealth of the Kazakh language. Six volumes have already been published. Publication of "Frazelogicheskiy slovar' kazakhskogo yazyka" [Phraseological Dictionary of the Kazakh Language] (Alma-Ata, 1977), prepared



by prominent Turkic studies specialist S. K. Kenesbayev, constitutes a valuable contribution to Turkic lexicography. Two volumes of a large Russian-Kazakh Dictionary were published in 1978-1981. Approximately 20 branch and specialized dictionaries have been published. Grammatical structure is the most thoroughly investigated area of the Kazakh language.<sup>17</sup>

A large team of scholars is fruitfully engaged in studying the history of the Kazakh national and literary language, the language of the Orkhon and other medieval Turkic-language monuments.<sup>18</sup> Lexicological research is being conducted in the area of study of Turkic-language elements, homonyms, synonyms, phraseologisms, etc.<sup>19</sup> Theoretical problems of phonetics are treated in studies by Kh. Zhubanov, Zh. Aralbayev, and A. Dzhunisbayev.<sup>20</sup> Approximately 10 monographs and several collected volumes have been published in the field of dialectology.<sup>21</sup> Cultivation of speech and study of the language of the writer is one of the most important areas within Kazakh linguistics.<sup>22</sup>

Unquestioned success has been achieved in the study of problems of onomastics.<sup>23</sup> Linguists are making a contribution to the struggle against bourgeois ideology and politics.<sup>24</sup>

Uighur studies are an important area of investigation by Orientalists at the KaSSR Academy of Sciences. The department of Uighur studies at the Institute of Linguistics studies the history, language, and literature of the Uighur people from ancient times to the present. Old Uighur and Persian sources of the Moghul period (14th-16th centuries) are studied and made available to the scholarly community, and scholars are studying the history of the national liberation struggle of the Uighur people against Manchu rule and questions pertaining to resettlement of part of the Uighurs to within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, and history of the Soviet Uighurs.<sup>25</sup>

A concise history of the Uighur people and the outstanding Uighur musical work "The 12 Mukams" are being readied for publication, and work is continuing on an explanatory dictionary of the Uighur language. A scientific conference entitled "Current Problems of Soviet Uighur Studies," held in Alma-Ata in 1979, at which the fundamental problems of this branch of Oriental studies were examined, constituted a summarization of results achieved in study of the history, language and literature of the Uighurs, as well as evidence of recognition by the scholarly community of the considerable achievements of Kazakhstan's Uighur studies specialists.<sup>26</sup>

The contribution made by this republic's literary scholars to Turkic studies is substantial. In the 1970's scholars at the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature and Art prepared a number of studies of a synthesizing nature, prepared and published 3 volumes of "Nauchnoye opisaniye kazakhskikh rukopisey" [Scholarly Description of Kazakh Manuscripts] and the three volume "Istoriya kazakhskoy literature" [History of Kazakh Literature] in Kazakh and Russian. Preparations are in progress to publish a complete collection of the writings of M. A. Auezov in 20 volumes (10 volumes have already been published), a multivolume compilation of Kazakh folklore, and scholars are studying various aspects of oral folk literature, the origin and development of Kazakh written literature, and other problems.<sup>27</sup>



holding of the most representative forum of Turkic studies specialists in the entire history of Soviet Turkic studies, in Alma-Ata in 1976, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, constituted recognition of the achievements of this republic's scholars in the field of Turkic studies. Approximately 500 Soviet and foreign scholars discussed current problems of this most important area of Eastern studies, future directions of the development of Turkic studies, and research tasks.<sup>28</sup>

Study of the rich scholarly legacy of the outstanding thinkers and scientists of the East -- Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Al Farabi, Al Beruni, and others -- occupies an important place in research conducted at the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law. In 1980, by decision of the UNESCO General Conference, the millennium of learned encyclopedist Abu Ali Ibn Sina is being celebrated throughout the world. Kazakhstan's scholars took active part in scholarly meetings held by the academies of sciences of the Uzbek and Tajik SSR.<sup>29</sup>

The KaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law is today the country's leading center for study of the scholarly works and philosophy of Al Farabi, translation and publication of his writings, published in honor of the 1100th birthday of this "Aristotle of the East."<sup>30</sup> An International Scientific Conference entitled "Al Farabi and the Development of Science and Culture of the Countries of the East" was held in Alma-Ata in 1975, to summarize the current status of study of the scholarly legacy of this great scientist. Institute specialists are also investigating other problems pertaining to the history of philosophy of the medieval East, in particular the role of Islam in Central Asia and Kazakhstan during various periods of history, and are also studying and disseminating the experience of socialist reforms in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.<sup>31</sup>

Orientalist studies are also being conducted at a number of this republic's central higher educational institutions. History of the countries of Asia and Africa is studied at the department of general history at the Kazakh State University imeni S. M. Kirov. A group of instructors teaching history of the countries of the non-Soviet East is investigating certain aspects of the contemporary national liberation movement and the history of individual countries and regions: K. K. Kozhakhmetov -- "The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement (1958-1970)"<sup>32</sup>; A. A. Chupekov -- "The Development of Capitalism and the Status of the Indigenous Bourgeoisie of the Turkish Republic in 1918-1960"<sup>33</sup>; L. S. Frishman, A. F. Assonova, and N. A. Aldabekova -- "Reference Source Science and Historiography of Neighboring Countries of the East."<sup>34</sup> History of relations between nomadic and settled peoples, the material and intellectual culture of the Kazakh people are studied in other departments of the history faculty at the Kazakh State University.<sup>35</sup>

History of the peoples of Central Asia, particularly the Uighurs, and Russo-Chinese relations in this region are studied in the department of general history at the Kazakh Pedagogic Institute imeni Abay.<sup>36</sup> Other departments of the history faculty study aspects of the history of the Kazakh khanates and the foreign policy of Russia and Central Asia.<sup>37</sup> Institute archeologists are studying, jointly with scientists at the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, problems of toponymics, dating of discovered petroglyphs, refine and detail the course and nature of ethnic processes which took place in this region in ancient and medieval times, and study ancient religions and cults.<sup>38</sup>

Oriental studies are also conducted at the Kazakh State Women's Pedagogic Institute. History of the Kazakhs of Sinkiang is studied at the institute's historical-pedagogic faculty.<sup>39</sup>

Certain factors are holding back the development of Eastern studies in this republic. The republic's museums, libraries, and archives, for example, lack certain sources and literature which are important for research. There is a critical problem of discovering and copying needed materials outside the Kazakh SSR. At the same time available materials should be utilized more effectively.

Research conducted by Kazakhstan's scholars is helping solve a number of general and specialized tasks facing Soviet Orientalists, especially in the field of Turkic studies. Although the republic's Oriental studies have not yet risen to the level of a fully integrated science, the extent of oriental studies has broadened substantially in the last decade. There has been an increase in the number of research studies on archeology, ethnography, other disciplines and problems. New sources in various Eastern languages are being studied and made available to the scholarly community, the chronological framework of research is broadening, new problems are being addressed, and the quality of scientific publications is improving.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Questions connected with the development of Eastern studies in the Kazakh SSR up to the 1970's are discussed in the following article: G. F. Dakhshleyger and T. I. Sultanov, "Eastern Studies Research in Kazakhstan," *NAKODY AZII I AFRIKI*, No 2, 1972. The authors would like to express their thanks to G. F. Dakhshleyger, A. P. Kaydarov, B. N. Nauryzbayev, and A. A. Chupekov for their valuable advice and assistance in preparing this article.
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## SOCIOECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

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[Text] Establishment of the federated state of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) on 2 December 1971 was the final episode in the collapse of Britain's colonial empire in the Near and Middle East, under the onslaught of the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples. A provisional constitution was adopted in December 1971, stating the principles of the political structure of the federation; at the same time the UAE became a member of the United Nations and the Arab League. The UAE includes seven emirates (principalities or sultanates): Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ajman, Umm al Qiwain, Fujaira, Sharjah, and Ras al Khaima.

As of the beginning of 1982 proven oil reserves in the UAE were estimated at 29.4 billion barrels (4.1 billion tons): 28 billion (4,013 million tons) in Abu Dhabi and 1.4 billion (190 million tons) in Dubai. Oil reserves in the UAE comprise 5.3 percent of total reserves of capitalist and developing countries. There is reason to believe, however, that actual oil reserves in the emirates are considerably larger. The federation accounts for approximately 9 percent of total oil production in the capitalist world.<sup>1</sup>

Rapid growth in oil production and export from Abu Dhabi, and subsequently from Dubai and Sharjah as well, accompanied by increase in foreign exchange revenues, became the principal factor behind changes in life in the emirates. Income from oil formed the basis for establishing the federation; these revenues predetermined the dominant role of the emirate of Abu Dhabi, which represents the federation in OPEC and OAPEC. The oil boom has considerably enriched the feudal elite of the emirates, strengthened its rule, and at the same time has created the requisite conditions for accelerated development of the economy.

The oil industry continues to be the leading sector of the economy of the UAE, with revenues from oil export comprising approximately 90 percent of the country's total income. In the period 1971-1977 oil production in the UAE rose from 50.6 to 96.7 million tons, but production volume dropped in subsequent years.<sup>2</sup> In conformity with OPEC recommendations, daily oil production in Abu Dhabi was reduced from 1 billion 463 million barrels in 1979 to 1,195 million beginning in January 1981.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, due to a fivefold rise in crude oil prices in the world market in 1973-1974 and a further rise in subsequent years,

the emirate's income is increasing even with a decline in level of production. Total UAE revenues from oil exports increased from 528 million dollars in 1971 to 9.6 billion in 1977, while in 1980, according to the figures of the UAE Ministry of Planning, revenues totaled 18.7 billion dollars, and 9.7 billion for the first half of 1981.<sup>4</sup> One must bear in mind thereby that actual income from oil is approximately 15 percent higher than the officially published figures.

Abu Dhabi receives the lion's share of these revenues.

Oil income ensures a rapid rate of economic development, particularly of the emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai, the possibility of building modern industrial enterprises, and is also used to finance the federal budget, which pays for infrastructure facilities within the overall framework of the federation, handles federal expenditures for military needs, education, government administration, etc. Prior to 1981 Abu Dhabi was contributing 98 percent of federal budget revenues. Since December 1980 Abu Dhabi and Dubai have been contributing 50 percent of the net income from oil exports to the federal budget. In addition to the federal budget, each of the seven UAE emirates has its own budgets; Ajman, Umm al Qiwain, Ras al Khaima, and Fujaira, which have no oil, receive subsidies from the federal budget, that is, for all intents in purposes from Abu Dhabi. "The wealth of Abu Dhabi... is the principal factor which holds the seven emirates together."<sup>5</sup>

An important role in increasing the oil income of Abu Dhabi and Dubai was played by their expanded participation in oil production. Prior to 1974 production of crude in the UAE and its export were handled by foreign companies, which on the basis of concession agreements paid the emirate rulers 30 percent of their profits. Following nationalization of the British Iraq Petroleum Company in 1972, the UAE Federation joined the struggle to change the extortionate terms of the concession agreements. A national state oil company, the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC), was formed at the end of 1972; in 1973 it acquired 25 percent and in 1974 60 percent of the capital of the principal foreign oil production consortiums in the emirate. ADNOC also owns 51 percent of the capital of Abu Dhabi Oil and 88 percent of the capital of the Zakum Development Company — comparatively small foreign companies operating in the emirate. At the present time the assets of ADNOC, the largest national company in the UAE, are estimated at 9.1 billion dollars.<sup>6</sup> It is engaged in exploration, production, transportation, refining and processing of crude oil and natural gas in the emirate, and is also playing a growing role in the export of oil and gas. The government of Abu Dhabi also intends in the future to retain the principle of shares participation in oil production mixed companies, that is, not to nationalize them completely. It continues to grant concessions on the territory of the emirate to new foreign companies, but for a limited period of time — 10 years.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to Abu Dhabi, in 1975 Dubai announced acquisition by the ruler of the emirate of 100 percent of the capital of the Dubai Petroleum Company consortium. Nevertheless in both emirates oil continues to be produced by foreign mixed companies established on the initial concession agreements, but now they turn over an agreed-upon portion of the produced crude oil to the national companies, and are also gradually returning to them unutilized areas of the

concessions. The Crescent Oil Consortium -- a completely foreign enterprise -- as well as the mixed company. Amoco Sharjah, are operating in the emirate of Sharjah.

A Ministry of petroleum and mineral resources was established by the federal government of the UAE in 1973, for the purpose of coordinating oil policy within the federation; in actual fact it represents the interests only of Abu Dhabi, while Dubai and Sharjah independently determine matters pertaining to relations with foreign oil producing companies, determination of production volume, prices, etc. The lack of a uniform policy regarding oil -- the principal wealth of the UAE -- is one of the most serious obstacles on the road toward total economic integration of all seven emirates.

While exporting tens of millions of tons of crude oil, prior to 1981 the United Arab Emirates were forced to import basic refined products for domestic consumption. The federation's first oil refinery, with a capacity of 15,000 barrels of crude per day (approximately 0.8 million tons of crude per year), was built on the island of Umm al Nar, near the city of Abu Dhabi, and came on-line in 1976. The refinery's production capacity proved to be clearly inadequate to meet the needs of the UAE in refined products: production met only 40 percent of the needs of the emirate of Abu Dhabi. A steady rise in the price of gasoline and other fuels supplied to the other emirates by the Western monopolies Shell, British Petroleum, and Caltex prompted riots by the indigenous population of the northern emirates. In order to restore calm, in February 1980 the federal government allocated 200 million dirham in the form of subsidies to the citizens of the UAE to compensate for increased prices on refined products.<sup>8</sup> At the end of 1981 the country's second oil refinery, with a capacity of 120,000 barrels of crude per day (6 million tons per year), came on-stream in the town of Ruwais (Abu Dhabi). This refinery will be able fully to meet the country's requirements in refined products, which are estimated at 100,000 barrels per day. A state company, the Emirates General Petroleum Corporation, has been established to market refined products within the federation. It is gradually forcing the Western monopolies from the UAE domestic market. There are plans to expand the production capacity of the Ruwais refinery to 15 million tons of crude per year in 1985 and to 25 million tons in subsequent years.

Abu Dhabi ruling circles view construction of oil refineries as a step along the way toward establishing a national petrochemical industry. In the near future Abu Dhabi will be able to export refined product in place of crude oil, and in future years will be able to utilize the emirate's oil wells much more efficiently and profitably. This applies particularly to natural gas. Proved gas reserves in the UAE were estimated at 648 billion cubic meters as of the beginning of 1981, including 580 billion in Abu Dhabi, 43 billion in Dubai, and 15 billion in Sharjah.<sup>9</sup> Casinghead gas production increased from 1.5 billion cubic meters in 1977 to 6.5 billion in 1980; of this total, 5.8 billion cubic meters is produced in Abu Dhabi. At the same time a large quantity of gas (up to 8.5 billion cubic meters per year in Abu Dhabi's onshore fields alone) is being flared off.

In the UAE gas is used as fuel for power generating plants, industrial enterprises, and as a household fuel. The most promising use, however, is

liquefaction for subsequent export and use as a chemical industry feedstock. The federation's first liquefaction plant has been operating since 1977 on the island of Das in Abu Dhabi, with a production capacity of 2.3 million tons of liquefied natural gas per year; in addition, the plant supplies processed casinghead gas to the city of Abu Dhabi. A large complex for the production, transport and processing of natural gas came on-line in 1981, including a plant in the town of Ruwais with a capacity of 3 million tons of liquefied gas and 7 million tons of condensate (natural gasoline) annually. Liquefied gas from these plants is supplied to Japan on the basis of long-term contracts. In 1983 plans call for completing construction of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi's third gas liquefaction plant, which will supply processed gas to the industrial zone in the town of Ruwais, as well as an aluminum plant in the town of Jebel Ali (Dubai). Delivery of gas from Abu Dhabi to Dubai is one of the few instances of cooperation between the two richest emirates of the UAE. A plant owned by the Dugas Company has been operating in Dubai since 1980, producing approximately 700,000 tons of liquefied and 2.5 million cubic meters of processed gas annually, but this quantity is not sufficient to meet the needs of enterprises in the town of Jebel Ali.

The two industrial centers -- the town of Ruwais in Abu Dhabi and Jebel Ali in Dubai -- embody not only a different approach to the problems of development of the economy but also the open rivalry between the two emirates. Abu Dhabi ruling circles devote principal attention to development of a petrochemical industry, while Dubai is building enterprises of other industries, income from which is to supplant oil income. The largest enterprises in Dubai are the Dubai Company's aluminum plant, with a production capacity of 135,000 tons of aluminum per year (80 percent of the company's capital belongs to the Dubai Government and 20 percent to the British company British Smelter Constructions; bauxite is imported from Australia). In 1981 the plant produced 106,000 tons of primary aluminum. Construction of one of the world's largest ship repair complexes, consisting of three drydocks and auxiliary facilities, was completed in Dubai in 1979. One of the docks is designed for repairing tankers up to 1 million gross tons capacity. This complex has stood idle up to the present time, however, due to a lack of orders, while the drydock on Bahrain is work-loaded to the limit.<sup>10</sup>

A lack of coordination of actions in the economic domain is leading to construction in the different emirates of enterprises of the same type, which compete with one another. For example, there are cement plants operating in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, and Ras al Khaima; in coming years plans call for expanding the capacity of the existing plant in Abu Dhabi and building new plants in Dubai, Ras al Khaima, and Fujaira.

The overwhelming majority of modern industrial enterprises are concentrated in the emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai, while industry is little developed in the others. A home air conditioner assembly plant has been built in Sharjah, there are shipyards in Ajman and Umm al Qiwain which build small wooden ships, there are fish meal plants in Ajman and Ras al Khaima, and there is a fish cannery in Sharjah.

This development of industrial production in the UAE is distinguished by absence of orderly planning: there are no economically substantiated and coordinated plans and programs at the level of the federation.



A specific feature of industrial development of the UAE consists first of all in the fact that large enterprises are being built with the participation of state national companies or the rulers of the emirates, who possess considerable capital of their own. The local nobility prefers to invest capital in export-import operations and domestic commerce or in buying real estate. Secondly, all industrial enterprises, with the exception of small cottage-type industry, are totally dependent on foreign equipment and technology, are built and operated by foreign workers and specialists, with minimal participation by the indigenous population of the emirates. Thirdly, most enterprises are to a greater or lesser degree the property of monopolies of the developed countries and are oriented not so much toward the UAE domestic market as external markets. All these factors determine and increase the economic dependence of the UAE on the imperialist powers.

Natural and climatic conditions exert a negative effect on development of agriculture in the UAE: high temperatures and high humidity, a shortage of water, a high degree of soil salinity, etc. From 40 to 50 thousand hectares are suited to agricultural use, while approximately 20,000 hectares are being farmed. The dominance of feudal relations in the village continues to be a serious inhibiting factor, and vestiges of a clan-tribal system remain strong in the nomadic tribes. Productivity of the land being cultivated and labor productivity in agriculture remain low. Modern farming methods and agricultural equipment are used on government experimental farms and on the farms of wealthy landholders -- as a rule members of the tribal and feudal nobility.

In the UAE exploitation of new land requires enormous capital investment, which does not yield a rapid return. Therefore more than 60 percent of the value of agricultural production comes from animal husbandry. In most of the emirates agriculture is concentrated in oases. Only the emirate of Ras al Khaima contains extensive fertile land for growing fruits and vegetables; here there is sufficient rainfall, a factor which is particularly important in the UAE. In addition, large-scale construction of irrigation works is in progress in Ras al Khaima. More than 15 percent of the land is being cultivated in this emirate, while in the other emirates the figure ranges from 0.1 to 0.3 percent.<sup>11</sup>

The government of the UAE intends in the future to attain self-sufficiency for the federation in principal agricultural products. Large amounts are allocated each year from the federal budget for the development of agriculture. These funds are spent chiefly on establishment of a network of government experimental farms and on providing substantial material benefits to the indigenous rural population of the emirates. The experimental farms (Digdaga in Ras al Khaima, Sandiyat, Al Ayn, Salamiat, and As Saad in Abu Dhabi, Rawaya in Dubai, etc) are studying possibilities of growing grains, vegetables and fruits, as well as raising cattle. The farms are provided with imported equipment and operated by foreign specialists; indigenous personnel are trained on some. In order to encourage agricultural production, the government offers seed, fertilizer, insecticides, and some farm machinery at a large discount; medicines are offered free for livestock, and veterinary assistance is provided. In Abu Dhabi persons are given the use of plots of land to farm free of charge and are given monthly subsidies for two years. In addition, the government drills irrigation wells and provides pumps and motors. Nevertheless the requirements of the population of UAE in foodstuffs is approximately 90 percent met through imports, on which up to 75 percent of the total cost of imports is spent each year.



Many investigators consider highly doubtful achievement of the goal, stated by UAE ruling circles, of meeting domestic requirements in agricultural products with domestic production. And it is not merely the fact that enormous expenditures are needed for initial land cultivation and irrigation. One of the main problems is the need "to convince the peasants of the advantageousness of farming at temperatures which reach +45°C in the summer and annual rainfall ranging from 70 to 120 mm."<sup>12</sup> There is observed in all emirates, including Ras al Khaima, a tendency toward decrease in the numbers of the indigenous population engaged in agriculture. Development of industry and growth of cities are also exerting a negative effect on agriculture. First of all, acreage suitable for cultivation is shrinking. Expansion of oilfields, construction of oil and gas pipelines, pumping stations, etc, for example, has led to the destruction of much pasture lands and a sharp decline in the total number of livestock in Abu Dhabi. Secondly, water supply to agriculture is steadily worsening due to a constant growth in water consumption by industry and the urban populace.<sup>13</sup>

Considerable funds are being spent in the UAE on an afforestation program. This program is being carried out particularly aggressively in the emirate of Abu Dhabi, where just in the period 1969-1976 trees were planted on a total of 12,000 hectares (approximately 2 percent of the territory of the emirate). Planting trees and shrubs in a hot-climate area requires constant care and heavy watering, which also has a negative effect on water supply for agriculture.

During the years of independence, the UAE has established a modern transportation and communications system. Large appropriations from the federal budget have resulted in construction of first-class highways (there are no railroads in the UAE), linking the capitals of all emirates, as well as virtually all large communities in the federation. The UAE has motor transport communication with Europe via the Trans-Arabian Highway.

Motor transport plays a principal role in domestic goods and passenger transport, and there are no particular disagreements among the emirates regarding development of this mode of transportation. The situation is different as regards air and sea transport. There exists rivalry not only between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, but between other emirates as well. Within a radius of 360 km from the international airport in Dubai there are three more international airports: in Abu Dhabi, Ras al Khaima, and Sharjah. New international airports are under construction in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and Fujaira. The ruler of each emirate views the existence of "his own" airport as a symbol of independence from his neighbors, and each emirate signs agreements with foreign airlines independently, without considering the interests of the neighboring emirates. Construction of costly modern airports primarily for reasons of prestige leads to considerable nonproductive expenditures. A similar situation has developed in the area of maritime transport. A national merchant marine is little developed in the UAE. Nevertheless all emirates in the federation have operating seaports, including such modern ones as Rashid (Dubai), Zayed (Abu Dhabi), Khalid and Khor-Fakkan (Sharjah), Sakr (Ras al Khaima), and Fujaira. In addition, large port facilities are being built at Jebel Ali and Ruwais, and even in the diminutive emirate of Ajman. Obviously such a heavy concentration of seaports -- along a coast stretching approximately 400 kilometers -- is not dictated by economic necessity.

In the large, nonproductive expenditures on building redundant facilities are added constantly growing military expenditures, which greatly exceed defense needs. As at the beginning of the 1980's the UAE was spending more money (per capita) on defense than any other country in the world. Although the federation's armed forces total only about 40,000 men, UAE military expenditures have increased from 770 million dollars in 1977 to 1.2 billion in 1980. This comprises more than 36 percent of total federal budget expenditures.<sup>14</sup> Since the UAE purchases modern military hardware in the United States, Great Britain and other Western countries, this increases the federation's dependence on the imperialist nations to an even greater extent.

Rivalry among the rulers of the emirates, who do not want to yield authority and who stubbornly refuse to transfer over to the federal government the functions of management of the economy, continues to remain the principal problem solution to which will determine to a great extent the future of the UAE. We must note that separatist moods in a number of emirates are also being intensively encouraged by external forces.

In recent years certain measures have been undertaken to strengthen the influence of federal agencies on the country's economic development. A UAE Central Bank was established at the end of 1980, with broader authorities in regard to privately-owned domestic and foreign banks operating in that country. In June 1981 the government of the UAE adopted the first five-year economic development plan in the history of the federation, covering the period 1981-1985. The plan specifies investment of 13 billion dirham (3.6 billion dollars) in the economy during this period, which will make it possible, it is believed, to maintain a rapid pace of development and increase gross national product from 111.7 to 135 billion dirham.<sup>15</sup> The plan pursues the aim of diversifying the UAE economy and reducing its dependence on oil; at the same time the plan calls for building primary capital-intensive enterprises employing a small number of workers. UAE ruling circles view development in this direction as one way to reduce the number of foreign workers and to hold back overall population growth in the federation -- rapid population growth in the UAE, accompanied by change in national composition, has become one of the federation's most acute sociopolitical problems.

An influx of immigrants from other Arab countries, India and Pakistan has led to a situation where the population of the UAE has increased by more than 34 percent just in the last 5 years. Mass immigration has exerted profound and in many ways conflictive influence on life in the UAE. The indigenous population of the emirates, the labor resources of which are extremely limited, has proven unprepared to participate in modern production. Local inhabitants for the most part show no desire to learn new occupations, which frequently involve heavy physical labor. Therefore operation of practically all sectors of the UAE economy, particularly industry, is totally dependent on foreign workers and specialists. In the estimate of the foreign press, immigrants comprise approximately 80 percent of the federation's total population and approximately 90 percent of hired workers. At the end of 1980 the UAE contained 422,000 foreign workers. Approximately 12,000 of the 42,000 government employees in the UAE are foreigners -- approximately 60-70 thousand specialists (the vast majority of them are employed in the federation).<sup>16</sup>

Not wishing to acknowledge the fact that the indigenous population in the UAE has essentially become an ethnic minority, UAE authorities have long since stopped publishing official figures on the ethnic composition of the federation's population. According to various estimates, at the beginning of the 1980's the indigenous population comprised 20-25 percent of the total population, while if the present level of immigration continues, by 1985 its share will slip to 14 percent.<sup>12</sup>

Rapid growth in numbers of immigrants has forced UAE ruling circles to take steps to limit immigration. A law was adopted in January 1980 which prohibits immigrants from changing jobs within a year's time, certain categories of foreign workers were given 1 month officially to register resident status in the UAE, while the remainder were ordered to leave the country.

The domestic policy of the monarchic regimes is highly reactionary. All emirates prohibit the forming of political parties, trade unions and other public organizations, both by immigrants and the indigenous population; strikes are prohibited. The authorities make short work of strikers, arresting and deporting strike organizers and active strikers.

Nevertheless dependence on immigrant labor is forcing the UAE authorities to grant rights and citizenship to a limited number of immigrants from Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, and certain other countries. In recent years UAE ruling circles have preferred to recruit manpower in Arab countries. Corresponding agreements have been signed with Morocco and Jordan.

Original UAE publications and the Western bourgeois press often call the United Arab Emirates "a country of universal prosperity." The indigenous population is just as without rights as are the immigrants. At the same time the monarchic regime, endeavoring to ensure social support among the masses, to avert social conflict and thus to preserve the absolute sociopolitical structure of the emirates, gives various material benefits to the natives, on which a certain, on the whole insignificant portion of oil revenues is spent.

The indigenous population of the UAE is able to receive free education, including higher education, as well as free medical care. Citizens of the federation are exempted from paying taxes, from paying for electricity and water, and on food and fuel at special reduced prices. Only natives can own land in most of the emirates, own taxis and commercial transport vehicles. The well-to-do segment of the population of the emirates receives considerable income from a requirement which is mandatory on foreign companies operating in the UAE: they must have natives as partners or agents. Natives are given priority for government jobs in the federation and the individual emirates. Approximately 10 percent of the indigenous population of the UAE receive monthly cash subsidies from the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. These benefits and privileges make it possible to ensure the indigenous population a higher standard of living than that of the majority of immigrants, although they are unable to conceal the profound social inequality between the ruling feudal-semicolonial elite of the emirates on the one hand and the native masses on the other. This was witnessed in particular by the first strike in the history of the UAE by natives employed at ministries, schools and hospitals in Dubai.

Sharjah and Ras al Khaima in May 1981. The strikers demanded higher wages and better working conditions.<sup>19</sup>

Ruling circles utilize the Muslim religion, viewing Islam as the ideological foundation of the social system of the UAE, in attempts to preserve the existing order unchanged and to prevent changes in societal affairs.

The United Arab Emirates have entered the second decade of their existence burdened with acute, unresolved problems. Development of productive resources, especially in Abu Dhabi and Dubai, is getting into conflict with the backward socioeconomic structure of the emirates. The technological and external-economic dependence of the UAE on the monopolies and banks of the developed capitalist countries is increasing.

The future of the federation depends in large measure on solving complex economic, social and political problems.

#### FOOTNOTES

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5. "The Middle East and North Africa 1980-1981," op. cit., page 617.
6. MEED, No 4, 1981, page 2.
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12. MEED, Special Report, July 1977, page 29.
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16. MEED, No 17, 1981, page 54; No 12, 1982, page 55.
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18. MEED, No 13, 1982, page 43.
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## DRA POLICIES ON PASHTO-DARI BILINGUALISM DESCRIBED

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[Article, published under the heading "Articles and Reports," by L. N. Kiseleva: "Pashto-Dari Bilingualism in Afghanistan"]

[Excerpts] Study of the coexistence of language systems under conditions of a multiethnic state is becoming particularly relevant today for developing countries, which are faced with tasks of linguistic organizational development. One such country is the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which in April 1978 took the path of radical social and cultural reforms.

The people of Afghanistan speak more than 30 different languages, which belong to various language families: Indo-European (Iranian, Indic, and Dardic groups), Turco-Mongolic, and Semitic-Hamitic. The most widely spoken languages of Afghanistan belong to the Iranian group of related languages. These include Pashto, Dari, Baluchi, Ormuri, Parachi, and the Pamir languages. Historically two languages have had national significance: Dari, which by the Middle Ages already possessed a highly-refined literary-written form, and Pashto -- the language of the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, which played an exceptionally important role in consolidation of the Afghan state.

According to a census taken in 1979, Afghanistan has a population of 15.54 million.<sup>1</sup> Afghan tribes -- Pathans -- comprise more than half the population (55 percent). They live in a broad strip along the eastern and southeastern border, along a line running Ghazni-Mukur-Kandahar, as well as in the country's southern and southeastern regions, and to some extent in the north. The language of the Afghan tribes -- Pashto [also: Pushtu] -- is divided into a great many dialects, which are generally joined into three major dialect groups: Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Pakti.<sup>2</sup>

The Dari language, in addition to a literary-written form, is also represented on the territory of Afghanistan by numerous dialects, spoken by Afghanistan's second largest ethnic group -- Tajiks (19 percent of the population). They live in the northwestern part of the country (the Heri Rud Valley, centered around Herat), in the northeast (Badakhshan) as well as in the east (Panjer, Kokhistan and Kokhdaman, centered around Charikar). Other Dari speakers, in addition to Tajiks, include certain other ethnic groups, such as the Khazara and Aymaki. The Dari language in its regional variations is the native language of more than 4 million persons.

The ethnic diversity of Afghanistan's population and the great diversity of languages naturally promote development of bilingualism and multilingualism. Characteristic of the majority of the population is knowledge, to one degree or another, of the two principal languages — Pashto and Dari. Many Pathans and Tajiks are mutually bilingual, that is they possess fluent knowledge of each other's language.

A characteristic feature of Pashto-Dari bilingualism in Afghanistan is its mass, stable, and ubiquitous character. In rural areas bilingualism is territorially determined, that is, connected with the fact that speakers of both languages live side by side on one and the same territory, frequently in one and the same village.<sup>8</sup> Often balanced bilingualism occurs, where bilingual speakers speak both languages equally well. In the cities and large provincial centers bilingualism as a rule is of a sociofunctional character and depends on the conditions of communication: the place and purpose of the act of communication. "Part of the rural population of such areas as Logar, Lagman, and Parvan is completely bilingual," writes Ravan Farhadi. "As for city dwellers, at home they usually speak one of the two languages, but they know the other or understand it well."<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, bilingualism is developing far from uniformly. The bilingualism of the Afghans-Pathans on the one hand and that of the Tajiks (and other Dari-speaking groups) on the other differs substantially.

1. Pathans with a fluent mastery of Dari comprise the bulk of bilingual speakers for the country as a whole. There are considerably fewer Dari-speaking persons who are more or less fluent in Pashto.
2. The degree of mastery of the second language also varies among bilingual speakers. On the one hand one observes active knowledge of the second language (Dari), while on the other one observes passive assimilation of only its rudiments (Pashto). In cities with a predominantly Dari-speaking population, naturally Pashto-speaking Afghans desirous of mastering the dominant language are active bilingual speakers. Dari-speaking residents of these cities either can get along easily without knowledge of Pashto, or have passive knowledge of it. In Kabul, for example, which is historically the center of the Dari-speaking population, only the following groups know the Pashto language to a varying degree (other than Pathans): a) students, who study Pashto in elementary school, secondary school, or other educational institutions; b) government employees, who are required to study Pashto (until recently by coercion); c) merchants and businessmen who due to the nature of their business have dealings with Pashto-language customers in the capital and in the outlying districts. In cities which are centers of Pashto-speaking areas there is naturally an inverse ratio of active and passive bilingual speakers: here Dari-speaking residents, who comprise a minority, have reason to study the language of the majority, that is, Pashto. This natural correlation, however, in fact fails to hold up, due to a general tendency toward a rapidly advancing spread of the Dari language in its supradialectal form<sup>10</sup> throughout the entire country as the language of the forming general national Afghan market. Such a city as Kandahar, the former capital of Afghanistan and center of the Pashto-language culture, is today already becoming 50 percent Dari-speaking.<sup>11</sup>

3. Pashto and Dari are not utilized in equal measure as languages of communication between other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. The majority of ethnic groups, living both surrounded by a Dari-speaking population and among Pathan tribes, readily utilize the Dari language, as well as the Pashto and Dari languages together. In this case Dari is a mediator language of national significance, while Pashto is of regional significance. Cases in which Pashto alone plays the role of mediator language are less frequent. Possible formulas of bilingualism are as follows: "Native language + Dari and "native language + Pashto + Dari."

4. With simultaneous utilization of both languages as mediation vehicles, Dari usually exerts more intensive influence on the native language of the bilingual speaker. To illustrate this point, we can cite data about the Ormuri ethnic group, which lives in the vicinity of Baraki Barak, administrative center of Logar Province. The local population is as a rule trilingual: native language (Ormuri, a member of the southeastern group of Iranian languages) + Pashto + Dari. One notes immediately, however, upon examining the vocabulary of the Ormuri language that far fewer words have been borrowed by this language from Pashto than from Dari. According to an observation by a prominent investigator of the languages of Afghanistan, the Swiss scholar Charles Kieffer, who in the 1960's took part in preparing the Linguistic Atlas of Afghanistan, the degree of influence of the mediator language on the Ormuri language depends on the ethnic origin of the mother in the family. If the mother is a Pashto-speaking Afghan, the majority of words borrowed into the native language are from Pashto, while if she is a Tajik -- the majority are borrowed from Dari. If both the mother and father are Ormuri, however, as a rule borrowings from Dari predominate in the Ormuri language.<sup>12</sup>

5. The influence exerted by the Dari and Pashto languages on one another also differ in degree of intensity. The Pashto language borrows from Dari not only vocabulary and word-formant affixes, but also syntactic structures -- the constructions of certain subordinate clauses. The Dari language borrows from Pashto individual words and word combinations, chiefly names of things which for the most part exist in the language as intruders from other languages: "Kabul Nyndare" (The Kabul Theater), "Sry Miyasht" (Red Crescent).

6. Growing active bilingualism on the part of Pashto-speaking Afghans has led to a situation where at the present time there are practically no monolingual Pathans left who do not know Dari. And yet even quite recently, deep in areas with a compact Pathan population, there were localities in which the residents knew no other language but Pashto. In the feudal era this situation was fostered by subsistence farming, an absence of economic ties and roads, and total illiteracy among the population. Conditions for linguistic contacts with speakers of other languages arose only during military service and when leaving the village to take employment elsewhere. Subsequently the factor of mixed marriages was added. Monolingualism is becoming a thing of the past with the collapse of feudal relations, building of roads, and spread of literacy and elementary education. Today only elderly people, who have little mobility and do not visit towns, as well as children of preschool age, in certain areas remain monolingual.

In contrast to this, in areas with a compact Dari-speaking population (Herat, Panjer, Badakhshan, etc), a significant percentage of the inhabitants speak only

their native language (most frequently both the local dialect and its supradialect form) and do not know Pashto, as they have no great need to do so. Monolingualism among Tajiks, however, just as for other ethnic groups, is the norm only for uneducated strata. As a rule children and young people learn Pashto in school.

Following the 1978 April Revolution, especially at the new stage of development of the revolution (from December 1979), there began in Afghanistan a revision of all ethnic and linguistic policy on the basis of democratic principles. A new approach is being applied to the language question, an approach which specifies fundamentally different aims.

In prerevolutionary Afghanistan so-called "language reforms" were of a nationalistic character and frequently boiled down to actions which deformed natural cultural and linguistic development. The new linguistic policy is based on consideration of the specific features of national sociocultural processes. A special decree of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA proclaimed the equality of all the country's ethnic groups and languages. Four additional languages, written in Arabic script, were declared official languages (presently of limited use): Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, and Pashai. Newspapers are published in these languages, and radio and TV programs are regularly broadcast. Schools are operating in Uzbek, Turkmen and recently in Baluchi as well.<sup>13</sup> Privileges enjoyed under the former regime by persons with an active knowledge of Pashto have been abolished by legislative enactments.

The course of policy followed by the Revolutionary Government toward internationalization and democratization of societal affairs is also manifested in adjustment of the correlation between the Pashto and Dari languages. Use of both languages in the official domain, including the press, has been balanced taking into account historical realities. In the majority of central newspapers and magazines, materials are published both in Pashto and Dari. These include the newspapers HIVAD (Homeland), ANIS (Friend); the magazines ZHVANDUN (Life), AVAZ (Voice), ERFAN (Knowledge), KETAB (Book), HONAR (Art), ZANAN-E AFGANISTAN (Women of Afghanistan), KAMKIYANO ANIS (Children's Friend), BASTANSHENASI (Archeology), OLUM-E EJTEMAI (Social Sciences), etc.

The newspaper "Truth About the April Revolution," organ of the PDPA, is published in two languages: in Pashto -- under the title DE SAUR ENKELAB HAKIKAT, and in Dari -- under the title HAKIKAT-E ENKELAB-E SAUR. The scientific journal PASHTO ZHYBA (Pashto Language) is published only in Pashto. The scholarly literary history journal HORASAN, which deals with history of Dari literature, is published only in Dari. Provincial publications published in Dari-speaking areas (Herat, Balkh) carry only 20-25 percent of their materials in Pashto. Correspondingly newspapers and magazines published in Pashto-language areas (Kandahar, Paktia) are published only or primarily in Pashto. In addition, the following newspapers are published in Afghanistan: YULDUZ (Star) in Uzbek, GYURESH (Struggle) in Turkmen, SOBKH (Morning) in Baluchi, as well as the newspaper KABUL NEW TIMES in English.



A fundamentally new approach toward distribution of languages within the public education system is being implemented in the DRA. Students have the right voluntarily to choose their language of schooling, regardless of nationality and the ethnic composition of the population of a given area.

The destinies of the two main languages of Afghanistan -- Pashto and Dari -- are closely interwoven in the conditions of a single country. A bilingual literature (prose and poetry), unified in artistic method and ideological content, is evolving in these languages. Although the process of acculturation is at present more connected with knowledge of Dari than Pashto, nevertheless both languages possess the requisite authority and prestige throughout the country: Pashto as a symbol of national distinctiveness and Afghan nationhood, and Dari as a language of long literary tradition, providing domestic and international communication. Thus both languages are making a contribution to the process of political and ethnic integration.

Linguistic development in today's Afghanistan is proceeding along the road of achieving a harmonious relationship between the country's two principal languages and formation of a unified national system of communication.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Demokraticeskaya Respublika Afganistan. Spravochnik" [The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. A Reference Book], Moscow, 1981, page 9.
2. See N. A. Dvoryankov, "The Pushtu Literary Language and Dialects in Afghanistan," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 2, 1963, pp 142-146.
8. The mixed character of Afghan villages, in which the nomad tents of Pathans stand side by side with the mud huts of settled Tajiks or Parsivan (Pathans may set up camp close to a settled village, using common pasturage and a common water source), is a common sight in Afghanistan.
9. Ravan Farhadi, "Languages," "The Kabul Times Annual," Kabul, 1967, page 83.
10. The Spoken Language Kabula, also called "Kabuli," which most fully reflects the common national linguistic peculiarities and plays the role of a unique lingua franca in Afghanistan (Abd-ul Ghafur Farhadi, "Le persan parle en Afghanistan. Grammaire du Kaboli" [Persian Spoken in Afghanistan. Kabuli Grammar], Paris, 1955, page 3).
11. Alongside historical-cultural reasons, this tendency is also based in part on linguistic factors. An analytic language, Dari has a simple morphology, which makes it comparatively easy to learn. Pashto genetically traces back to the ancient Saco-Tocharian dialects and is distinguished by a great complexity and archaism of forms.
12. Charles Kieffer, "The Approaching End of the Relict South-East Iranian Languages Ormuri and Parachi in Afghanistan," "Language Death," LINGUISTICS, No 191, 1977, page 77.



13. The following measures, for example, attest to a radical change in policy toward the Uzbek language. The newspaper YULDUZ (Star) began to be published in this language in June 1978. Weekly half-hour broadcasts over Kabul radio are provided for the Uzbek population. A Department of Uzbek Language and Literature was established in 1978 under the auspices of the DRA Ministry of Education, pursuant to Decree No 4. Textbooks and teaching materials have been prepared under the guidance of this department for Uzbek-language schools in provinces with an Uzbek population. In the future scholarly research will be conducted in the field of Uzbek language and literature.

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TAJIKISTAN: EXAMPLE OF DIRECT TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM BY 'PEASANT COUNTRY'

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 108-119

[Article, published under the heading "Articles and Reports" and the subheadings "Exchange of Views" and "Formation of Classes and Choosing a Path of Development," by Kh. N. Drikker: "The Experience of Tajikistan in Transformation of Class Structure"; passages highlighted by use of double-spaced words enclosed in slantlines]

[Excerpt] In the post-October era the process of radical change in the class structure in Tajikistan, as in all republics of the Soviet East, did not take place spontaneously but rather as a result of purposeful policy by the Communist Party and Soviet State. In this it differed fundamentally from the process of formation of classes in today's developing countries in the East, where it is taking place on the basis of /"interweaving of spontaneous and to some degree state-controlled/(emphasis ours -- Kh. D.) class-transforming processes."<sup>10</sup> The Soviet experience is especially instructive, however, for countries of socialist orientation, where government policy plays a decisive role in the process of class formation.

The foundations of a socialist system in Tajikistan began to be created from the time when a socialist system was established both in the city and village. In this connection we should distinguish two historical periods in the process of formation of the socialist way of life. In the first period -- from October 1917 to the end of the 1920's -- the basic preconditions for its victory were being formed. These preconditions were as follows: establishment of political power of the worker class, consolidation of the alliance between the worker class in Russia and the Tajik peasantry, and implementation of a socialist economic policy. This period was characterized by establishment and consolidation of a socialist structure in the city and by the creation of rudiments of socialism in the village. Cooperative production by the peasantry was fully achieved and the foundations of a socialist system in Tajikistan were created in the second period -- between the end of the 1920's and the latter half of the 1930's.

Post-October socioeconomic changes began earlier in the northern areas than in the central and southern areas of Tajikistan and were essentially synchronous with those processes which were taking place in the other republics of the USSR. The point of departure for these changes was the victory of the armed uprising in Tashkent in November 1917, immediately following the victory of the

October Revolution in Petrograd. After the October Revolution the principal areas of northern Tajikistan were incorporated into the Turkestan ASSR, established in April 1918 at the initiative of V. I. Lenin. The wealthy bourgeoisie in the cities was liquidated as a class; exploitation capabilities of the bai [wealthy landowners] were restricted thanks to Soviet labor laws.

A popular revolution did not take place in the central and southern areas of Tajikistan (areas of Eastern Bukhara) until 1920; this revolution overthrew the emir of Bukhara with the aid of the Red Army and established in 1920 the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BPSR), which V. I. Lenin called a "peasant-soviet republic."

Establishment of a new socialist system in Tajikistan, just as in other Central Asian republics, encountered resistance on the part of remnants of the overthrown exploiter classes. There also was taking place in Tajikistan a struggle against the basmachi, organized beyond the republic's borders by international (primarily British) imperialism and the followers of the toppled emir of Bukhara, who had fled to Afghanistan. A recently published specialized study draws a well founded parallel between the Central Asian basmachi movement of the 1920's and the basmachi in contemporary Afghanistan: "The experience of the 1960's and 1970's has shown that phenomena analogous to the basmachi movement have also taken place in a number of developing countries of Asia and Africa in which progressive reforms were being carried out. Just as the basmachi movement of the 1920's, which was inspired and supported by international imperialism, this was desperate opposition on the part of reactionary feudal and clan-tribal elements to any and all progressive measures -- from agrarian reform to teaching people to read and write. In spite of all the differences of circumstances of time and place, one can easily detect that same support by international reaction, those same social roots, that same exploitation of backwardness and ignorance, that same religious fanaticism, that same hatred toward everything new, those same savage, fanatic forms of struggle against activists defending the new order, against the peasant who has proceeded to plow the landowner's land, against the teacher and actor, against the woman who has dared to expose her face contrary to age-old prohibitions."<sup>11</sup> Today's basmachi movement in Afghanistan is especially reminiscent of the Central Asian basmachi movement.

The basmachi in Tajikistan also marched under the banner of Islam. The reactionary segment of the Muslim clergy, exploiting the illiteracy and benightedness of the dekhkans [peasants] and their fanatic devotion to religion, cowed them with threats of punishment after death if they accepted Soviet rule. For some time the basmachi were supported by a segment of the peasantry. But the dekhkans soon became convinced through their own experience that Soviet rule brought liberation from an intolerable lack of rights and from oppression, and was helping the dekhkans in every way, providing them with land, agricultural equipment, working livestock, and seed. In addition, the Soviet Government fully exempted the Tajik peasantry from taxes for the first three years, while the subsequently levied agricultural tax was in no way comparable to the taxes exacted by the emir. The victory of Soviet rule in Tajikistan left entirely alone the religious beliefs of the population. At the same time the dekhkans realized that the basmachi bands were robbing innocent citizens, were perpetrating various outrages and, falsely hiding behind Islam, were restoring

the hated regime of the emir. The dekhkans proceeded to form "detachments of redstavers" [local volunteer forces armed with crude weapons], the ranks of which contained thousands upon thousands of volunteer fighters, to assist the Red Army. This helped achieve complete liquidation of the basmachi -- in the northern areas in 1921-1923, and in the central and southern areas in 1926-1927.

Liquidation of the basmachi accelerated and intensified economic organizational development, which was taking place on the basis of the instructions of V. I. Lenin and under the direction of the Turkestan Commission he had established. V. I. Lenin warned time and again about the harm of hastiness and recommended that particular solicitude be shown "for the Muslim poor, their organization and enlightenment," that one take into consideration age-old traditions and observe the principle of gradualism: "A slower, more cautious, more systematic transition to socialism -- this is what is possible and essential."<sup>12</sup>

Rebuilding of the devastated economy began in 1921 in the northern areas of Tajikistan. Rebuilding and development of the economy, which was taking place on the basis of a new economic policy, pursued the following goals: establishment of state industry, the material and technological foundation for building socialism, encouragement of various forms of cooperative trades and agriculture, final elimination of feudal vestiges, and restriction of the bais, especially as a result of the land and water reform carried out in 1925-1927 in the Khodzhent district.

A demarcation within the Muslim clergy was clearly revealed during implementation of the land and water reform. The reactionary segment of the clergy sharply opposed the reform, declaring it to be contrary to the principles of Islam, which forbids one Muslim (in this case the landless dekhkan) to take away property from another Muslim (in this case the confiscated lands of the wealthy feudal lords). That segment of the clergy which had recognized Soviet rule supported the reform. This segment was led by prestigious expert in Islamic law Sharif-makhdom. In the past he had been a supreme judge (kazi) in the Bukhara Khanate. After the Bukhara Revolution of 1920 he did not emigrate but remained in the Bukhara People's Republic, taking employment as a librarian. Sharif-makhdom wrote "Shariah Law" ("fetvu"), in which, referring to the Koran, he argued that "the land and water reform is pleasing to Allah." This document was signed by several other prominent mullahs, which greatly helped end vacillations on the part of deeply religious dekhkans, and thus helped implement the land and water reform. The military-political alliance formed between the worker class and the peasantry during the years of struggle with the basmachi was strengthened during these years by a comprehensive economic alliance.

A policy of industrialization began to be carried out. By the beginning of the first five-year plan in 1928, enterprises in the northern areas employed 1,500 industrial workers, for the most part of local nationalities, plus 519 engineers and technicians. The socialist system became dominant in the city; the private-capitalist system was gradually eliminated: only private commerce was retained. The petit-bourgeois structure was increasingly diminishing, since the majority of artisans and craftsmen joined cooperatives, while some entered the worker class.



In the kishlaks [villages] the semifeudal-bai structure was transformed into a private-capitalist (kulak-bai) structure, which was restricted by the Soviet authorities. Although the dekhkan (small-scale commodity producing) structure remained dominant, growth of the rudiments of a socialist structure -- sovkhoses, cooperative agriculture, and contracting [preemption by state procurement agencies] -- signified that the direct preconditions for socialist transformation of the dekhkan (small-scale commodity production) structure were already forming.

In the areas of Eastern Bukhara, beginning in 1921, landholdings confiscated from feudal lords and government officials of the emirate who had fled were declared property of the state, and a portion of these lands was distributed among the poor.

Of decisive significance in all subsequent radical class changes in Tajikistan were political measures, particularly the process of Sovietization, which signified enlisting the masses in running the affairs of state, particularly the toiling peasantry, and developing in them the skills of nationhood, which had been lacking under the old regime, on the basis of new, popular Soviet principles.

Characterizing the significance of the experience of the BPSR, Lenin stated in an address at the 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (December 1920) that this experience constituted "proof and confirmation of the fact that the ideas and principles of Soviet rule are understandable and immediately implementable not only in industrially developed countries, not only in countries with such a social support as the proletariat, but also with such a foundation as a peasantry. The idea of peasant Soviets has emerged victorious."<sup>13</sup>

In Eastern Bukhara, in contrast to the northern areas, Soviet rule was initially established, as throughout the entire BPSR, in the form of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship, but in 1924 the 5th All-Bukhara Kurultay [Congress] of Soviets adopted a decree transforming the BPSR into a socialist republic.

The Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in October 1924 as a component of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an element of the union Uzbek SSR and containing the areas of Eastern Bukhara and a part of the northern areas of Tajikistan (with the exception of the Khodzhent District). In October 1929 both groups of rayons united, the Khodzhent District was united with them, and thus the union Tajik SSR was established. Thus consolidation and political structuring of a Tajik socialist nation was completed.

The most important results of the first period was establishment in the cities of the Tajik SSR of a socialist way of life, primarily on the basis of creation of industrial centers; a local socialist worker class was being created. The principal elements of the structural edifice in this period were small-scale handicraft workers, hired laborers, and peasants leaving the village to take employment elsewhere. An important role in the process of creating cadres of industrial workers was played by handicraft workers, who possessed technical skills and qualifications, who had worked in various traditional trades -- processing silk and cotton textiles, in the leather trade, blacksmith trade, in oilseed processing, etc. The forms of increasing worker class cadres varied.



Cotton mill workers were recruited primarily from peasants who had left their villages for seasonal work in town. Unskilled workers in construction, on road and irrigation projects were for the most part laborers and village poor, large numbers of which would accumulate in towns in search of work. Organization of the first factory apprenticeship schools at large enterprises as a new form of training skilled workers began in 1924. Thus the process of transforming semiproletarians, peasant seasonal urban workers, the kishlak poor and persons hired by handicraft workers into cadre workers, which was taking place during the rebuilding period, comprised the content of the process of creation of a Tajikistan worker class during the first stage.

According to 1926 census figures, there were only 112 industrial workers (cotton mills, printing plants, food processing enterprises) in the Tajik ASSR. In 1929, after the Khodzhent District was added to the republic, it contained 2,000 industrial workers, 1,000 railroaders and motor road haulage workers, 5,000 agricultural workers, and 7,000 construction workers, a total of approximately 15,000 persons.<sup>14</sup>

The Tajik SSR worker class was still relatively young and small in numbers, but it was being established not as an exploited class but as a class which was building socialism; its activities in production were directly linked with the revolutionary transformations of the republic's entire structure of life. Tajik workers who had been employed in production prior to the October Revolution already possessed revolutionary traditions; they were closely linked to the most class-conscious Russian industrial worker cadres, who were the first assistants of the Tajik workers and taught them various skills. The degree of trade-union organization of the workers of Tajikistan was growing. Socialist competition began among them. The party element within the worker class was growing. In 1925 there were only 39 workers in the Tajik party organization, or 8.9 percent of the membership, while in 1929 there were 469 workers, or 31.7 percent. Thus class consciousness was being developed, and the leading role of the indigenous worker class in building socialism in this republic was gradually intensifying.<sup>15</sup>

Sovietization of the kishlak was the principal political precondition for the process of socialist transformation of the dekhkans. The political activeness of the toiling dekhkans was steadily increasing at the local soviet elections which were held each year; their percentage of participation in elections was rising, and genuine defenders of the interests of the poor and middle peasants were being elected to the soviets. The party was devoting particular attention at that time to overcoming age-old prejudices and toward increasing the political initiative of the poor and farm laborers. Special meetings of the poor were held, and a trade union of agricultural workers came into being.

During the first years of existence of the Tajik ASSR, in view of the prevailing situation and the extreme backwardness of the dekhkan masses, the party organization pursued in the kishlak a policy line aimed at "neutralization of the kishlak elite," that is, bai feudal elements. Subsequently they adopted a course of policy aimed at isolating and forcing out the feudal-bai elements. The poor and agricultural laborers, becoming emancipated from their past submissiveness to the kishlak exploiter elite, were becoming increasingly aware

that they were the decisive force in the kishlak, leading all toiling dekhkans. This was also fostered by the activities of the "Soyuzi Dzhuftgaron" ("Union of Plowmen"), the ranks of which included not only the poor and farm laborers, who comprised a majority, but also progressive middle peasants, as well as artisans working for hire and residing in the kishlak, and small craftsmen.

Just as drawing of the dekhkans into Soviet organizational development was preparing them politically to the greatest degree for active participation in building socialism, implementation of a Leninist cooperative plan was economically preparing the dekhkans for communalizing agricultural production. Drawing the dekhkans into cooperative agriculture was the immediate precondition for their gradual socialist transformation. Encompassment of dekhkan farm operations by cooperative agriculture was growing year by year, in 1924/25 comprising 5.6 percent of the total number of dekhkan farm operations, 8.2 percent in 1925/26, 17.7 percent in 1926/27, 44.9 percent in 1927/28, and 66.2 percent in 1928/29. This means that the overwhelming majority of dekhkans were becoming members of cooperative associations and were acquiring the skills of joint economic activity.<sup>16</sup> Cooperative agriculture was gradually preparing the dekhkans for the next, higher stage -- cooperative production.

Although by the end of the period under review the Tajik dekhkans continued to remain individual farmers, the peasantry already was fundamentally different from the prerevolutionary peasantry: it was no longer the same class without rights, crushed under a burden of taxes, but a class of toilers gravitating toward the worker class, prepared to grasp root socialist transformations in agriculture.

The most important development in these years was growth in the rudiments of a socialist structure in the kishlak and establishment in 1928 of the first kolkhozes in kishlaks where land reform had been carried out. 1929/30 was also a year of organization of the first seven large mechanized sovkhoses in this republic. As a result of the class changes described above, the immediate prerequisites for subsequent socialist transformation of the dekhkan peasantry had formed by the end of 1929.

Establishment of an indigenous worker class, which was broadening the class base of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Tajikistan, led to consolidation in the city of a socialist structural edifice not only as predominant, but also as capable of ensuring increasing growth of the rudiments of a socialist structural edifice in the kishlak as well.

Substantial changes took place in 1929 in the social structure of Tajikistan. The urban population had grown, and it now contained a substantially increased percentage of blue-collar and white-collar workers. The middle dekhkan peasant stratum had increased in the kishlak in comparison with the prerevolutionary era. The number of exploiter elements had declined substantially, both in the city and in the village. A radical change in the entire class structure, however, took place in the following period, during the first five-year plans, on the basis of implementation of industrialization and victory of the kolkhoz system in this republic.

The years of the first five-year plan (1929-1932) were the next stage in the formation of a worker class in this republic. A specific feature of the forming of a worker class during these years was transformation of substantial masses of poor peasants and farm laborers into workers. The very scale of formation of an indigenous worker class changed. By the end of the 1st Five-Year Plan the total number of blue-collar and white-collar workers employed in production branches was more than double the corresponding figure for 1929, totaling 35,000, including 8,000 in industry.<sup>17</sup>

The drawing of women into industrial production was a complex task in forming a worker class in Tajikistan, as it was in all Eastern countries. It was necessary to overcome age-old traditions of depriving Muslim women of rights. The process began with progressive Tajik women, in spite of resistance on the part of a fanatical segment of the population (including acts of terrorism), determinedly abandoning the paranja [traditional woman's robe]. With the support of progressive segments of the community -- workers, poor peasants, and part of the middle peasants -- a "khudzhum" (campaign) against the paranja was declared. Gradually the right of the Tajik woman to appear in public with her face exposed and to take part in societal production became firmly established.

The following circumstance was correctly noted in the literature: "In connection with the fact that among the local population women had traditionally worked on finishing silk, the influx of labor into the silk industry involved primarily women of the indigenous nationality. Thus social reforms were being carried out simultaneously with solving the problem of providing industry with manpower."<sup>18</sup> This also applies to other branches of industry: wearing apparel, food processing, etc. By the beginning of 1933 women comprised almost one third of Tajikistan's industrial workers.<sup>19</sup>

The degree of organization and cultural-technical level of the worker class were also increasing. At the end of 1932 the republic's trade unions contained 68,625 blue-collar and white-collar workers. Socialist competition was developing. There was occurring a mass movement of workers into the edifice of government. Also of fundamental importance was the fact that Tajikistan's young worker class was able to advance from its ranks active participants in socialist transformation of the kishlak. The number of workers in the republic's party organization was growing; in 1929 the party contained, as we have already noted, 469 workers -- 31.7 percent of the entire republic party organization, while by 1930 the figure was 1,506 workers -- 39.4 percent.<sup>20</sup>

During the years of the 2nd Five-Year Plan (1933-1937), training of cadres of worker youth, the children of workers as well as of kolkhoz farmers, began to be of increasing importance for replenishing the ranks of the worker class. While at the initial stages of formation of a Tajik worker class, considerable cadres of local workers were being trained by sending young people to industrial cities of the Soviet Union, at the concluding stage there was extensive training of skilled worker youth cadres within the republic, in various training courses and at secondary technical schools, factory apprenticeship schools and



in mass trade apprenticeships, as well as by individual-brigade apprenticeship.

The kishlak poor peasants comprised an important source for replenishing the ranks of the worker class, as was the case during the 1st Five-Year Plan. There existed a great difference, however, between the forms of replenishing worker class ranks in the prekolhoz and kolkhoz periods. In the prekolhoz period replenishment of worker class ranks was taking place with individual dekhkan farmers, for the most part poor peasants who had left the kishlak in search of a livelihood. In the kolkhoz period, however, alongside the influx of individual peasant farmers, there gradually began more intensive conduct of organized recruitment of workers on the basis of contracts with kolkhozes. There was also continuing recruitment of workers from among cooperative handicraft workers. At the same time, just as in previous years, Tajikistan's worker class was also receiving skilled workers arriving from various industrial areas of the Soviet Union. This resulted in a multiethnic composition of the republic's worker class. The percentage share of workers of indigenous nationalities was 53 percent by the end of the five-year plan and was continuing to rise.<sup>21</sup>

Characteristic of this stage of formation of an indigenous worker class in Tajikistan was the fact that, in contrast to previous years, what was primarily joining the ranks of the worker class was not petit-bourgeois and pauperized elements (former individual farmers, handicraft workers, poor peasants, etc) but rather social groups which were directly participating in socialized production: worker youth, kolkhoz farmers, handicraft cooperative workers, workers from other republics, etc. This meant that the composition of the worker class was becoming increasingly more socially homogeneous, highly-skilled, and reproducing itself to a significant degree on its own social foundation.

The character of this stage can also be judged according to the creation of a new psychology, by the growth of class, political consciousness on the part of the worker class and its production activeness, by development of a Stakhanovite movement and by stability of trends of further quantitative and qualitative growth of the worker class, and by gradual increase of this growth during the years of the 3rd Five-Year Plan (1938-1941).

During these years the young socialist worker class in the Tajik SSR consolidated its leading role and made an enormous contribution toward the implementation of national economic plans. There was an increased influx of workers into the party. As of 1 January 1937 there were 1,765 workers in the republic party organization, while the figure had increased to 3,569 as of 1 January 1941.<sup>22</sup>

In 1940 the number of blue-collar and white-collar workers in all sectors of the republic's economy totaled 141,400, as compared with 73,000 in 1933, that is, almost double, while in 1940 there were 25,100 workers in industry, as compared with 8,000, that is, more than triple, which attests to a more rapid rate of growth of the worker class in industry. The number of persons employed in production sectors of the economy increased from 35,000 at the end of the 1st Five-Year Plan to 60,700 in the prewar year of the 3rd Five-Year Plan (including: 25,100 in industry, 10,200 in transportation, 17,100 in agriculture, and 7,300 in construction). Local workers now comprised three fourths of the entire worker class.<sup>23</sup>

These are the basic figures characterizing the results of the concluding stage of formation of an indigenous worker class in the Tajik SSR. The republic reached the nationwide level both in basic quantitative worker class growth indicators and in decisive trends in its further development.

In the kishlaks of Tajikistan creation of a socialist structural edifice and the related process of socialist transformation of the dekhkans took place during the years of the first five-year plans. One important feature of the initial stage of mass movement into cooperative production in this republic was the fact that it encompassed primarily poor peasants and hired laborers, many of whom had fought the basmachis. In view of the specific historical conditions of Tajikistan (just as the other republics of the Soviet East), the CPSU Central Committee specified for them in the years of the 1st Five-Year Plan as the principal organizational form of kolkhozes, in contrast to the central areas of the Soviet Union, not an agricultural artel, but an association for the joint cultivation of land (TOZ). Land use was socialized in the TOZ, but labor and means of production were united only during the time of agricultural jobs, which was both understandable by and acceptable to the dekhkans, and in addition was in conformity with the communal traditions of the "shariky" (joint land cultivation by two or several households). In the TOZ the dekhkan gradually became accustomed to collective forms of labor, and thus this association constituted a transitional stage to a higher form -- the true collective farm.

Cooperative production -- collectivization of agriculture -- in Tajikistan was carried out from the very outset with the assistance of the worker class throughout the country. Worker delegations, for the most part textile workers from Moscow and Ivanovo, came here to assist the dekhkans in organizing kolkhozes, assuming patron status over specific rayons. Later workers arrived -- 25-thousanders from various cities of the USSR. Gradually more and more representatives of the Tajik worker class came to the assistance of the kishlak.

In spite of fierce resistance by the bai, and overcoming the negative consequences of serious violations of party policy on the issue of collectivization, the mass kolkhoz movement steadily grew and encompassed almost all areas of the republic. An important feature of the kolkhoz movement in the spring of 1930 was the fact that increasingly greater numbers of middle peasants were joining the kolkhozes. In 1929 only 4 percent of households on kolkhozes were middle-peasant, while in 1930 the figure rose to 34.1 percent, that is, one third of the total.<sup>24</sup>

In contrast to the central areas of the USSR, two slogans in regard to the kulaks were operating simultaneously, depending on the degree of preparedness of different rayons for collectivization in the republic, pursuant to the decisions of the CP(b) [Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] of Tajikistan: in areas where across-the-board collectivization was being carried out, the slogan of liquidation of the kulaks as a class was advanced; in the majority of rayons, however, where collectivization was proceeding at a slower pace, the slogan of restricting and forcing out the kulaks was employed.



Of decisive importance for transforming the kolkhoz dekhkans into a class of a socialist society was the fact that during the 2nd and 3rd Five-Year plans, in conditions of across-the-board domination by a socialist structural edifice in the city, such a structure was also becoming established in the kishlak. The 2nd and 3rd Five-Year plans were marked by organizational-economic consolidation of the kolkhozes, by completion of across-the-board collectivization and, on this basis, by liquidation of the kulaks as a class.

As everywhere in the Soviet Union, enormous work in strengthening the kolkhoz movement, in overcoming attempts by the kulaks to collapse the kolkhozes from within, and enormous work in the area of adopting progressive methods of organization of production and indoctrination of collective labor habits was done by political departments, which were established in the republic in 1933 at machine-tractor stations (MTS) and on sovkhoses.

In the 2nd Five Year Plan permanent production brigades were organized in all TOZ, the collectivist habits of the TOZ members were strengthened, and at their meetings they began mass discussion of kolkhoz organizational regulations. In these conditions the party and government assisted in the voluntary transition from TOZ to kolkhozes. Of importance in this regard was the 1 April 1936 decree issued by the Council of People's Commissars and Central Committee of the CP(b) of Tajikistan, entitled "Assistance to TOZ Transitioning to Agricultural Artel Regulations."<sup>25</sup> In the Tajik SSR this transition differed substantially from the practice which was typical of the central areas of the USSR: surplus livestock in the possession of TOZ members (above the standard figures specified by the regulations) was not communalized but purchased, and in a number of rayons with a still low level of collectivization, kolkhoz households were able to keep for private use one horse, two oxen, one or two donkeys or one camel. The state made available 3 million rubles for loans for kolkhozes and kolkhoz members to purchase surplus livestock and 3 million rubles for loans to TOZ changing to kolkhozes -- loans were granted for building livestock facilities for communalized stock. Transition to the agricultural artel operating regulations was closely linked with the presentation to kolkhozes of government documents granting land use in perpetuity which was taking place in the republic.

As a result of organizational-economic strengthening of kolkhozes in the 2nd Five-Year Plan, the last bai farms were liquidated on the basis of accomplishing across-the-board collectivization. The small-scale dekhkan production structural edifice was transformed into a socialist structure: in the northern areas it was solidly dominant by the end of the 2nd Five-Year Plan, while this occurred somewhat later in the rest of the republic. The process of socialist transformation of the dekhkans, which had been intensively taking place during the 2nd Five-Year Plan, was completed in the 3rd Five-Year Plan. All TOZ shifted to the operating regulations of the agricultural artel. In the principal indicators, development of collectivization in Tajikistan reached the national level.

Thus the process of transforming the toiling dekhkans into a class of a socialist society, homogeneous in its social nature with the worker class, was completed during the years of the 3rd Five-Year Plan. The psychology of the dekhkans was changing, private-ownership attitudes were gradually becoming

extirpated, and the political self-awareness of the kolkhoz peasantry had become different. There were no longer any social differences within the kolkhoz peasantry, but occupational differences appeared: the group of farm machinery operators and groups of persons employed in intellectual labor grew on the kolkhozes.

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The historical experience of Tajikistan demonstrated that with socialist orientation by a peasant country embarking upon the road of noncapitalist development toward socialism, of decisive importance in development of class relations is government authority and correct government policy. In Tajikistan this policy was initially implemented for the most part with the aid of the entire Soviet worker class, but it was carried out under the direct supervision of the local party organization and included the conduct of radical transformations: establishment of local industry, industrialization, nationalization of the land, and a land and water reform. Measures were taken to liquidate vestiges of feudalism and a Leninist cooperative plan was being carried out, ending with the total collectivization of agriculture. The principle of gradualism was strictly observed in implementing this policy, and the peculiar distinctiveness of local conditions was taken into consideration both in expanding the domain of the socialist structural edifice and in liquidating the exploiter classes.

As a result, changes took place in the composition of the population of Tajikistan, which are characterized by the following figures:<sup>26</sup>

	According to the 1913		According to the 1939	
	Census		Census	
	Thousand Persons	%	Thousand Persons	%
Total population	1034.4	100 %	1484.4	100 %
Of that:				
urban	92.2	9 %	249.3	17 %
rural	939.2	91 %	1235.1	83 %

These figures indicate that the process of urbanization, common to the entire Soviet Union, was taking place fairly intensively in this republic, although somewhat more slowly in comparison with the central regions.

The class structure of Tajikistan changed radically (as a percentage):

Before the October Revolution <sup>27</sup>		At the Beginning of the 3rd Five-Year Plan (1939) <sup>28</sup>	
Hired workers	1	Blue-collar workers	12.9
		White-collar workers	10.2
		Total	23.1
Dekhkan peasants (poor peasants and day laborers)	65	Kolkhoz peasantry	72.5
Remaining toiler population	29	Self-employed (dekhkans and self-employed handicraft workers)	4.4
Exploiter classes	5	Exploiter classes	none

Thus in Tajikistan, in spite of its unique situation, the process of class formation took place in the final analysis during the lifetime of a single generation, when a process which was common to the entire Soviet Union was completed, the process of total liquidation of exploiter classes and the formation of two socially homogeneous, amicable classes of the socialist society — a worker class and a kolkhoz peasantry, which comprised almost 100 percent of the population. The above examined historical experience of what in the past had been a backward outlying colonial region is of unquestioned interest for a comparative study of the problem of formation of classes in countries of socialist orientation. It is of importance for these countries not only in a purely cognitive, theoretical sense but in a practical sense as well — as a living and vivid historical example.

#### FOOTNOTES

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27. See this article, page 109.
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## INDIAN BIG BUSINESS ATTEMPTS TO EXPAND ROLE AT EXPENSE OF STATE

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 119-129

[Article, published under the heading "Articles and Reports" and the subheading "Exchange of Views," by O. V. Malyarov: "Socioeconomic Program of Indian Monopoly Capital"]

[Text] Characteristic of contemporary Indian life is an appreciable activation of that country's monopoly capital, which pursues the aim of subordinating that country's course of socioeconomic policy to the interests of big business. It is grounded on aggravation of the crisis of the capitalist path of transformation of the colonial economy and intensification of conflicts within the ruling class of the national bourgeoisie connected with this.

On the eve of gaining independence, India's socioeconomic structure possessed a number of traits dictated by the specific features of its evolution in colonial conditions and suggesting a specific "colonial socioeconomic structure." Its most typical attribute was dualism -- a combination of precapitalist structures and early-capitalist forms of economy with higher forms of capitalist development, modern large capitalist enterprises and monopolies -- with an extreme weakness of economic and technological links between them. In India, which had succeeded in advancing further than other colonial countries along the road of capitalist evolution, the contemporary economic sector was represented not only by foreign but also by local large capital, which was developing into monopoly capital.

This placed an imprint on the structure of the ruling class, dictating domination in this structure by the wealthy and monopoly bourgeoisie, the activities of which, alongside competition by foreign goods and foreign capital, were impeding the development of small-scale and medium entrepreneurship.

The compromise socioeconomic policy adopted in India, directed toward capitalist transformation of the colonial economy in the interests of all groups of the indigenous bourgeoisie (including its monopoly element), therefore inevitably presupposed a certain restriction of the latter's position in the economy. India's constitution specified as a principle of government policy ensuring that "functioning of the economic system does not lead to a concentration of wealth and means of production to the detriment of the common good,"<sup>1</sup> While the 1956 Resolution on Industrial Policy specifically proclaimed the government's

intention "to prevent the development of private monopolies and concentration of economic power in various domains in the hands of a small number of persons."<sup>2</sup> Achievement of this goal was to be fostered on the one hand by growth of the government sector and regulation of the economy, and on the other hand by expansion of the mass base of entrepreneurship, including small-scale enterprise -- which also included reserving for the latter certain production operations, a portion of financial and material resources, etc.

As a result of measures undertaken in this direction, there was an appreciable acceleration of growth of capitalism "from below," development of a private-capitalist structural edifice in industry and agriculture. Simultaneously the position of small-scale industrial entrepreneurs and the rural kulak-land-owner elite became stronger within the structure of the ruling class.

At the same time various concessions to the monopolies, material and financial support for their entrepreneurial activities on the part of the state fostered an absolute growth of monopoly capital and retention of its position in the domain of large-scale private enterprise, particularly joint-stock enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

In 1951 the 20 largest Indian and foreign monopoly organizations included companies with free and clear capital of 2.4 billion rupees, which comprised 29 percent of the total free and clear capital of all private-sector joint-stock companies. By 1958 their free and clear capital had increased to 3.5 billion rupees, and its share had increased correspondingly to 32.4 percent. Growth of monopoly capital continued in subsequent years. The assets of the 20 largest groups grew from 11 billion rupees in 1958 to 24.3 billion in 1969, 44.6 billion in 1975, and 57.9 billion in 1978. Their percentage share of the total assets of the private joint-stock sector, which comprised 34.7 percent in 1958, declined to 25.1 percent in 1969, but then again rose to 34.7 percent in 1975. In 1977/78 their share of factory production was 17 percent and 24 percent of the private sector, while these figures were 30 and 42 percent respectively together with 60 other, smaller monopoly groups and 28 independent major companies.<sup>4</sup> In many branches they occupied a monopoly or dominant position.

As Indian monopoly capital continues to grow and the scale of its collaboration with foreign monopolies expands, it becomes more capable of establishing enterprises in capital-intensive and high-technology industries. At the same time the problem of the domestic market became aggravated by the middle of the 1960's, with completion of the basic stage of import substitution. The narrowness of the domestic market, caused by stagnation of precapitalist structures and the poverty of the masses, is becoming the main factor restraining industrial development, which naturally is aggravating the struggle for the market and the domain of application of capital. By virtue of all these reasons, Indian monopolists are increasingly feeling the burden of government restrictions on their activities and are endeavoring to expand these activities at the expense of the government sector on the one hand and small-scale industry on the other. In like manner they are seeking to increase their share of aggregate financial and material resources. With the fall of the Janata Government, which proclaimed a policy of expanded support of small-scale enterprise, the endeavor by the monopolies to establish their total domination in the country's socioeconomic and political structure, to achieve total subordination of government policy to their own interests, assumed an almost undisguised character.

On 9 January 1980 the INC(I) party was victorious in the Indian parliamentary elections, and on 18 January the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) — the main organization of Indian big business -- made public its "Minimum Program of Economic Action."<sup>5</sup> That same month the All-India Organization of Employers (AOE), which handles matters of labor and wages within FICCI, submitted to the government a "Minimum Program for Harmonious Industrial Relations."<sup>6</sup> The FICCI and its member associations of entrepreneurs, as well as individual most influential representatives of big business, organized a number of conferences, symposia and meetings with members of government and sent the government various memoranda on socioeconomic policy, among which we should mention the proceedings of the 14th All-India Conference of Corporate Managers and Tax Executives,<sup>7</sup> organized within the framework of FICCI and held in October 1980, as well as a memorandum on problems of labor relations and labor legislation, submitted to the government by the All-India Organization of Employers at the Beginning of November 1980. Identical demands were presented by another organization of big business — the United Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (UICCI), established in the colonial period by foreign capital, and today uniting entrepreneur associations representing not only foreign capital but also a number of influential Indian monopoly groups, in particular the Tata Company.

FICCI and UICCI presented an elaborate program in their documents, proposing a public reexamination of the government's official socioeconomic policy, which was formulated at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's.

What are the main features of the socioeconomic program of big business? What are the Indian monopolies demanding today?

The central core of their program is abolishment or sharp weakening of government restrictions on large-scale private enterprise. Representatives of big business have also presented this demand in the past, frequently seeking substantial concessions from the state. Today, however, this demand is linked with an appeal for open revision of the government's officially proclaimed overall socioeconomic policy and restriction of the role and place both of the government sector and of small-scale industry.

They propose revision of the official conception of the state sector, proclaimed in the mid-1950's and reflected in the 1956 Resolution on Industrial Policy. They are casting doubt on the very idea of giving the state "commanding heights in the economy." As a first step they propose repudiation of the state monopoly on establishing enterprises in key sectors of the economy. In the opinion of FICCI, "even if one proceeds from this position" (that is, from the position that "the government should occupy commanding heights in the economy"), "it by no means follows that the government should have a monopoly in these sectors." The "Minimum Program of Economic Action" states further: "It is therefore desirable that government efforts be supplemented by the private sector. This... will create a competitive environment.... Such participation should embrace the branches of industry, including the coal industry, the electric power industry, motor transport, the iron and steel industry, etc. Nor should there be exclusive 'channelizing' in the hands of the government in the domain of trade, domestic or foreign. It is essential that the role of private commerce be given adequate recognition in our country."<sup>8</sup> FICCI also proposes offering the private sector access to oil prospecting and production,



as well as the manufacture of equipment for the petroleum industry.<sup>9</sup> Thus the concept of a state sector which occupies "commanding heights" in the economy and has a monopoly on establishment of enterprises in key sectors is replaced by a concept of a state sector participating with the private sector in development of these branches. It is proposed thereby that the scale and domain of the new state enterprise within the framework of this participation be essentially limited for the most part to providing (with the participation of the private sector and limiting the scale of new government capital investment) the transportation-energy and agricultural infrastructure.<sup>10</sup>

Big business is also demanding participation in state enterprises. Their "board of directors," states the "Minimum Program," "should possess decision-making authority and consist of representatives of government and the private sector; ...a portion of the shares, where possible, should be sold to the general public; management of certain enterprises in the government sector can be offered to private-sector companies on the basis of a long-term contract." In the opinion of FICCI, this "combination of private management and state ownership will give the economy new dynamism."<sup>11</sup> Thus FICCI is trying to have every government-sector enterprise become an isolated economic unit, competing both with privately-owned enterprises and with other government enterprises. The "Minimum Program" demands expanded participation by the private sector in the stock capital of state enterprises and a greater role by the private sector in control and management of state enterprises.

Within the framework of such a conception of the state sector, there is no room for the provision stated in the 1956 Resolution on Industrial Policy proclaiming the state sector to be an instrument "for reducing inequality in income and property," "for preventing private monopolies and concentration of economic power in various domains in the hands of a small number of persons," not to speak of its role as an instrument for building "a society according to the socialist model."<sup>12</sup> As regards small-scale industry, the official position of big business has always been that "no conflict exists between large and small industrial enterprises" and that the division of domains between them "is better left to market forces" and "to technical and economic considerations." Big business considers that "any restrictions on penetration by large companies into certain domains and the setting aside of branches for development in certain sectors are undesirable," while the role of small-scale industry should be for the most part limited to subsidiary enterprises producing parts and components for large enterprises, and the latter should participate in the capital of small enterprises. The ceiling on the size of enterprises characterized as "small" should be raised.<sup>13</sup> This latter would make it easier to form branches and affiliates of large companies under the guise of "small" enterprises.

According to the concept advanced by FICCI, small-scale industry can present a claim to existence only as a dependent appendage of large enterprises. While denying the opportunity of extensive independent development to small-scale industry, big business at the same time refuses to guarantee the marketing of the products turned out at subsidiary facilities at their own enterprises or to make specific pledges to turn over the manufacture of certain parts and assemblies to small subsidiary enterprises.<sup>14</sup>



Monopoly capital has also always opposed special government "supports" to small-scale industry, "preferential treatment, subsidies, etc."<sup>15</sup> In addition, FICCI asserts that even development of small-scale industry, including in rural and backward areas, should be encouraged by offering incentives to large enterprises in these areas, "which would be followed" there by small-scale industry.<sup>16</sup>

However, experience obtained when the Janata Party was in power, a party which encouraged the development of small-scale industry while restricting large-scale industry, did not escape the notice of Indian big business. For the time being FICCI, which claims the role of spokesman for private-enterprise business, is not openly demanding revision of measures adopted in support of small-scale industry. The "Minimum Program" formally acknowledges the need to set aside a certain group of production activities for small-scale industry and to give it preferential treatment in distribution of means of production by the state.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, however, FICCI is seeking to narrow this range of production activities, stating that the list of set-aside industries should be drawn up "on the basis of an economic (not social -- O. M.) criterion," only if a small enterprise will be more "economical" from a technical and economic standpoint than a large enterprise. The "Minimum Program" calls for "continuously monitoring development in domains set aside for small enterprises, and wherever fallbehind occurs, this domain should be opened up for other (that is, large -- O. M.) enterprises."<sup>18</sup> Although acceptance of these demands will give monopolies new advantages in their campaign against government support of small-scale industry, FICCI, going beyond this, insists on diminishing government license control of large-scale enterprise. With the exception of a "short" list of branches reserved for the state and small-scale industry, the remaining branches should be an arena of "free enterprise,"<sup>19</sup> and "even for large houses (that is, monopolist groups -- O. M.) there should be no licensing in regard to investment exceeding 100 million rupees, since in any case such investment is beyond the means of new or medium enterprises."<sup>20</sup> In other words, monopoly groups agree to request a license only for establishing relatively small enterprises and demand complete freedom to establish large enterprises without any external control. At the same time they demand a weakening of license authority for expanding the facilities of existing enterprises: "Any enterprise, be it large, medium, or small, should be allowed automatic expansion, not requiring obtaining a license, of 30 percent every five years."<sup>21</sup>

Of course such a lessening of license requirements will inevitably accelerate the process of concentration of economic power in the hands of the largest monopoly groups. The "Minimum Program" essentially does not deny this. It proposes that the government retain only the power to prevent abuses arising as a consequence of "dominating the market"; "it will be desirable," notes the "Minimum Program," "to eliminate provisions pertaining to preventing 'concentration of economic power' from the Law on Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices."<sup>22</sup> In other words FICCI is seeking to have the government openly repudiate such an officially proclaimed goal as prevention of monopolies and concentration of economic power. This demand by the monopolist groups is counter not only to the Law on Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices but also to the "Directive Principles of Government Policy" of the Indian Constitution.

FICCI not only insists on removing restrictions on the growth of monopolies but essentially advocates government support of this growth -- in the interests of "reducing production costs," "utilizing technological advances," "preventing an increase in the number of uneconomical ('sick') enterprises," and "ensuring the ability to compete in foreign markets." "Government and business," states the "Minimum Program," "should undertake a vigorous attempt to reach an economical operating size (of enterprises -- O. M.) as quickly as possible."

Big business advocates abolishing other forms of government regulation of the economy. "As a rule," the "Minimum Program" proposes, "control and regulation should be replaced with general guidelines. If a given case is in conformity with these guidelines, there should be no need for any permission."<sup>23</sup> UICCI President (M. Kh. Modi) was even more frank in this regard. Addressing a gathering of the Cochin Chamber of Commerce in November 1980, he called for "dismantling" all types of control, or "at the very least those which are inappropriate within the present context of industrial and economic development."<sup>24</sup> Such demands are combined in the program of monopoly capital with demands for redistribution of financial resources to the advantage of big business. Seeking to lessen government control over prices, the monopolists claim that there is no need to maintain price stability and to counter a general rise in prices. They propose restricting price controls to a narrow group of primary necessities, for the most part agricultural products. And even in regard to goods within this group, control should extend only to part of total output (which "in no case should exceed 50 percent"), while the producers should have the right to sell the remainder at free-market prices, whereby "the average sale price (that is, of products sold at a controlled price and sold at a free-market price) should be such as to give the producer a reasonable level of profit."<sup>25</sup>

As for prices on goods in the private sector, the main concern of FICCI is to ensure a sufficiently high level of prices and the possibility of further price increases. As regards prices on products of the infrastructure branches, which for the most part fall within the government sector, the monopolies seek a slowing of price increases: "It is essential that prices on such essential production factors as coal, electricity, etc do not rise sharply."<sup>26</sup> This suggestion is particularly noteworthy, because it is universally acknowledged that the prices on the products of state enterprises are already artificially low. The new demands by big business in the area of price policy lead to redistribution of financial resources to the advantage of monopoly capital, at the expense both of consumer and the state.

A similar program is proposed in the area of taxation. The main demand here is to reduce direct taxes on joint-stock companies and industrial enterprises, and on the most affluent segments of the population. They propose reducing the overall level of taxes by reducing the maximum corporate tax rate from 70 to 50 percent, reducing or eliminating duties on imported equipment, increasing the amount of tax-exempt allowance for depreciation, as well as granting reduced excise taxes. In November 1980 the president of FICCI additionally proposed exempting dividends from tax, up to 12 percent of taxes levied on corporations. It is also proposed that the property tax, paid only by the wealthiest segments of the Indian society, be abolished, and that the maximum personal income tax rate be reduced from 87 to 60 percent.<sup>27</sup>

The tax demands of FICCI pursue the aim of reducing the tax burden on the incomes primarily of the wealthy and monopolist bourgeoisie. This will lead to a corresponding decrease in funds for financing development of the government sector and government allocations. Acceptance of such demands will result in a further decline in the role of direct taxes as a means of diminishing economic inequality in India and will lead to an increase in the financial power of big business.

FICCI also is insisting on the removal or lessening of government restrictions on utilization of funds of the general public and stockholders controlling groups of joint-stock companies. In particular, the monopolies seek to lessen restrictions imposed on intercorporation investment -- to raise the ceiling on such investments from 30 to 50 percent of the joint-stock capital of the investor company. Such a measure would make it easier for big business to use stockholder funds to expand monopolistic combines. They are also demanding an end to restrictions on amount of compensation paid to company management personnel; they are demanding abolishment or reduction of restrictions on soliciting deposits (investments) by the general public by joint-stock companies.<sup>28</sup>

Big business is seeking to expand the scale of government financing of its enterprises. The "Minimum Program" insists on liberalization of bank credit for large-scale industry (in particular, annulment of the 1979 decision by the Reserve Bank of India to reduce by 20 percent credit available to industrial enterprises with bank accounts exceeding 2.5 million rupees), lowering of the interest rate charged by government long-term financing organizations on loans granted to enterprises in capital-intensive industries.

Seeking expanded participation by the private sector in the joint-stock capital, control and management of state enterprises, as well as expansion of government financing of private companies, big business at the same time defends the principle of limiting government participation in joint-stock capital, control and management of private enterprises. The "Minimum Program" demands that government finance organizations renounce the right, given to them by the "article on convertibility," to turn their long-term loans to private countries into stock shares if this can lead to concentration of controlling stock in the hands of the state: "When (state financial -- O. M.) institutions jointly possess more than 20 percent of joint-stock capital, they should not insist on the convertibility"<sup>29</sup> of their loans into shares of stock.

The demands of FICCI objectively lead to restricting the financial base of economic activity by the state, which reduces the possibilities of expanding the government sector and government allocations as a whole. At the same time monopoly capital is calling upon governments to resort to deficit financing of their appropriations to an even greater extent than in the past, unconcerned about the inflationary tendencies connected with this. In November 1980 FICCI President (K. N. Modi) announced his outright opposition to control of prices by regulating the money supply and credit.<sup>30</sup> One of India's biggest monopolists, (Bkharat Ram), at a seminar of the All-India Managers' Association in December 1980, advocated a "measured dose of deficit financing" as a means of "stimulating productive investment," claiming that if the government did not immediately resort to deficit financing, "shortages of the most serious kind will be inevitable."<sup>31</sup>



Advocating extensive utilization of deficit financing and favoring essentially inflationary development and greater profits and dividends, monopoly capital at the same time demands restriction on growth of real wages of the industrial proletariat. Big business's program in the area of labor and wages is presented in the "Minimum Program for Harmonious Industrial Relations" formulated by the AOE [All-India Organization for Employers]. The program states that policy in the area of wages should be subordinated to the task of "ensuring a high rate of economic growth" -- increase in capital accumulation at the expense of restraining wage growth, that is, increasing the standard surplus value figure. For the sake of "holding back inflation," there should not be an "automatic linkage between prices and wages," that is money [as distinct from real] wages should lag behind rise in prices, and consequently worker real wages should decline. Thus while against holding back inflation by restricting deficit financing and limiting credit to the private sector and government control over prices, monopoly capital recognizes only one anti-inflationary measure -- limiting worker wages! The monopolists claim that the wage level should be limited by the "ability to pay" of a given entrepreneur; but "ability to pay" per se should not serve as a basis for paying "excessive wages," for this will have an adverse effect on profits, which are essential for "creating additional employment."<sup>32</sup>

While advocating limiting the wages of the industrial proletariat, big business at the same time insists on removing restrictions on compensation for management personnel, arguing that reducing the gap in wage level should not deprive those who bear "greater responsibility" of "adequate incentive."<sup>33</sup>

The demand to limit the wages of the industrial proletariat and other groups of workers in the organized sector of the economy is combined in the program of monopoly capital with the demand that harsh measures be taken against the "workers' lack of discipline." Discussing "factors which demand effective control on the part of the government," the "Minimum Program for Economic Action" and the "Minimum Program for Harmonious Industrial Relations" list first the "workers' lack of discipline," asserting that it "has been the root cause of economic illness." They insist on harsh measures by the courts and police to combat worker actions, and in particular point to the necessity of "taking preventive measures to maintain order and tranquillity," "to send in sufficient police forces as soon as information is received regarding fears of possible disruption of law and order," and "to offer police protection to those workers who want to work."<sup>34</sup> The AOR also demands that the law specify jailing and higher fines for persons participating in "illegal" strikes, and that such law provisions be extensively applied.

The "Minimum Program for Harmonious Industrial Relations" also proposes changing the Law on Labor Conflicts so as to strip the courts of the power to compel an employer to take back discharged workers.<sup>35</sup>

UICCI demands in the area of labor and wages are not only identical to FICCI demands but are formulated in practically the same words. UICCI President (M. Kh. Modi), for example, in the above-mentioned speech before the Cochin Chamber of Commerce stressed the need "to put an end to evolution of the worker class as an 'organized aristocracy,' appropriating to itself all the benefits of economic growth to the detriment of the unorganized millions."<sup>36</sup>



Thus the "Minimum Program" formulated by FICCI in 1980 after the INC(I) government came to power, not only embraces almost all the fundamental socioeconomic demands of Indian monopoly capital advanced at the end of the 1960's<sup>37</sup> but in many respects goes significantly further than these demands and formulates them more frankly and explicitly. Indian monopoly capital is presently insisting on full implementation of all its demands, as a general program directed toward radical revision of the state's previously proclaimed official socioeconomic policy. The "Minimum Program for Economic Action" states: "Since economic activities constitute an integrated process, this program for minimum action should be carried out as a /single package/ [double-spaced words] (our emphasis -- O. M.). The proposed program is not extensive and does not require additional government appropriations. That which is demanded is administrative actions reinforced by political will."<sup>38</sup> But (M. Kh. Modi) stressed in all frankness the "importance of effecting fundamental changes in political and economic views connected with government policy" and called for "a total and complete change in the policy which has been followed during the last several decades."<sup>39</sup>

But the "total and complete change" in government socioeconomic policy proposed by big business and full implementation of their program "as a single package" would signify a substantial step in the direction of subordinating the state to Indian monopoly capital, in the direction of evolution of state capitalism to state monopoly capitalism. It is not surprising that the socioeconomic program proposed by the monopolists is combined with a policy aimed at establishing close and direct ties between big enterprise and government. FICCI President (K. N. Modi) called upon entrepreneurs "to establish complete mutual understanding with the authorities at all levels" and in this connection pointed to the "importance of appropriate brainwashing of the public in order to change "ideas about business circles."<sup>40</sup>

The socioeconomic program advanced by monopoly capital objectively leads to worsening of the economic status of the masses, including the petite bourgeoisie, the industrial proletariat, the urban and rural poor. Therefore its implementation is possible only in conditions of weakening of democratic institutions and strengthening of authoritarian trends in society. It is not mere happenstance that demands for concessions to big business are organically combined with the demand that "discipline" be ensured. The "Minimum Program of Economic Action," for example, demanding of the government "administrative actions reinforced by political will," also stresses the "need to get rid of the impression that reducing the high taxes means making concessions while maintaining discipline violates the principles of democracy."<sup>41</sup> The desire for establishment of "strong authority" in India is manifested in particular in statements by representatives of big business advocating a transition from a parliamentary democracy to a presidential form of government. As early as the 1960's representatives of the Tata Company spoke out in favor of a presidential form of government, similar to that in the United States. Today representatives of the influential monopolistic (Birla) Company are also advocating a presidential form of government.

Commenting on the attitude of the INC(I) government toward the program they were proposing, representatives of big business note an appreciable drawing closer of positions and increased agreement in this area. Addressing a meeting of

the Carnatic Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, FICCI President (K. N. Modi) noted that talks between the Federation and government representatives (the prime minister and ministers of commerce and civil supplies, industry, steel and mines) indicate a "growing atmosphere of mutual understanding" and that this "is in itself an achievement." "Now," he stated, "we must achieve those goals we have set for ourselves."<sup>42</sup> In November 1980, commenting on the semiannual economic review which FICCI had prepared, (K. N. Modi) greeted measures taken by the government since the talks with business circles; he stated that they "have created a proper atmosphere for industrial growth."<sup>43</sup> UICCI President (M. Kh. Modi) spoke in a similar vein, stating "the fact of growing understanding at the highest levels of government" of the need for reducing control; "the present minister of finance has acknowledged in principle," he also commented, that "the heavy burden of taxes is inhibiting growth of the economy" and that "to the extent to which money remains in the hands of the citizens, this has a beneficial effect on the economy."<sup>44</sup>

Monopoly capital has succeeded to some degree in gaining concessions toward its demands. In particular, license control over expansion of large enterprises has been substantially diminished: there has been an increase in the number of branches in which illegally (above and beyond issued licenses) installed capacities have been accepted, as well as branches in which licenses are not required for increasing facilities; permission has been given to increase production above the issued license by the amount of exported product. In addition, having expressed a favorable attitude toward the expansion of enterprises needed for "guaranteeing the ability to compete in foreign markets," for "improving product quality" and "reducing production costs," the government stated that the provisions of the Law on Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices shall not extend to production for export. Substantial concessions were also granted to big business in regard to the "article on convertibility," which empowers the government to turn long-term loans by government finance organizations to private companies into stock shares (with the concomitant right of participation in control and management). The decision was also made to allow participation by foreign private companies in oil exploration and production on India's continental shelf. In conformity with the demands of monopoly capital, the overall level of direct taxes was reduced, including taxes on big business (in particular, the maximum tax rate, applied to the highest incomes, was reduced from 77 to 66 percent; the tax rate on joint-stock companies was also reduced). Restrictions were also eased on mobilization of the financial resources of the general public by joint-stock companies, including the solicitation of deposits (investments) by the general public on the part of non-finance joint-stock companies, as well as restrictions on the amount of stock which the founder of a new company may retain.

A certain change, corresponding to the demands of the monopolies, was also noted in the concept of support of small-scale industry by the state. Although the government had stated that it was continuing a policy of assisting in marketing the products of small-scale industry and setting aside the manufacture of certain goods for small-scale industry, main emphasis is now placed not on development of independent small-scale industry but rather on the establishment of small subsidiary production facilities attached to large enterprises. Proclaiming the intention to do away with the "artificial division between small-scale and large-scale industry, based on the erroneous notion that their interests are

significantly in conflict with one another," the government is advancing the concept of "economic federalism," according to which the development of small-scale industry should be implemented by establishing large enterprises, which are to play the role of "nuclei" of development of small-scale industry.<sup>45</sup>

Concessions to monopoly capital, however, have not yet resulted in a substantial increase in capital investment and production growth. Noting that the government is rapidly solving all problems which industrialists have encountered in the past, Indian Minister of Finance R. Venkataraman stated in December 1980: "I do not know precisely what is keeping industrial circles from taking advantage of all these incentive measures and increasing capital investment in production."<sup>46</sup> In like manner at the beginning of 1981 Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, enumerating all the benefits and concessions which the government had given to private industrialists, stated that the "private sector has failed to live up to hopes"; the consumers have not gained from this special treatment.<sup>47</sup>

In response to these reproaches by the government, big business is continuing to seek additional concessions and full implementation of its socioeconomic program. It is noteworthy what former Indian president N. Sanjiva Reddy said in this regard. Mentioning the "danger of concentration of wealth in the hands of the few" and stating that "inequality in distribution of wealth contains a threat," he stated: "A few rich people are dictating their terms to the entire country. They should be taught a lesson and put in their place." "The present state of affairs," he emphasized, "must be changed; otherwise a threat will arise to our country."<sup>48</sup>

Concessions to the monopolies are causing serious apprehensions on the part of small-scale industrialists. At its annual congress at the end of December 1980, the central organization of small-scale industry -- the Federation of Associations of Indian Small-Scale Industry (FAISI), with 70,000 members -- spoke out against the decision approving automatic licensing and license privileges adopted for the sake of expanding export, and also stated its disagreement with the planned relaxation of the control established by the Law on Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices. Apprehension was expressed that the big Indian industrial houses would take advantage of these privileges to penetrate into the areas of activity of small industry. FAISI President N. Kalantri stated his disagreement with the new official notion of small industry: "The thesis of the mutually supplementing role of large and small industry, which is so frequently stressed by the government and by the big industrialists, in fact confuses actual problems. Small industry now realizes that it is being subjected to exploitation by the big industrial houses. We have no unity of interests with big industry. Our interests are closer to those of the artisans and handicraft workers than to the interests of the industrial houses."<sup>49</sup>

Growing displeasure with strengthening of the position of big business and monopoly groups in economic affairs is a characteristic feature of the social atmosphere in India today. One of the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the Indian Communist Party (March 1982) states: "While more than 50 percent of this country's population is living below the poverty line, the assets of the big industrial houses have increased by 45 percent in the three years ending in



1980.... There is also occurring increasing penetration into the Indian economy by multinational companies." The resolution calls for "nationalization of the monopolist houses and foreign companies" and, "as a first step" -- "nationalization of foreign pharmaceutical companies, the sugar, textile, and jute industry, and foreign trade." At the same time the resolution demands "strengthening and democratization of the government sector," "full protection of small industry," and a "guarantee to the worker class of a minimum wage based on need, as well as full trade-union and democratic rights."<sup>50</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Konstitutsiya Indii" [India's Constitution], Moscow, 1956, pp 77-78.
2. Cited in "Second Five-Year Plan," Delhi, 1956, page 45.
3. For more detail see O. V. Malyarov, "Kontsentratsiya kapitala i proizvodstva v Indii" [Concentration of Capital and Production in India], Moscow, 1968; "'Tretiy mir': strategiya razvitiya i upravleniya ekonomikoy" [The "Third World": Strategy of Development and Management of the Economy], Moscow, 1971, pp 91-105; "Ekonomicheskaya rol' gosudarstva v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [Economic Role of the State in Developing Countries], Moscow, 1975, pp 161-171.
4. "Report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living," New Delhi, 1964, page 40; S. K. Goyal, "Monopoly Capital and Public Policy," New Delhi, 1979, page 52; "MRTP Houses. House-Wise and Company-Wise Data," Center for Monitoring the Indian Economy, Bombay, 1979, pp 1.1-1.3; "Annual Survey of Industries 1977-78. Summary Results for Factory Sector," New Delhi, 1980, page 23; NEW AGE, 23 March 1980.
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11. Ibid., page 8.
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13. "Report Seminar on Prosperity Through Balanced Economic Development," FICCI, Federation House, New Delhi, 1970, pp 24-25, 28-29, 31, 65, 75.
14. "FICCI. Correspondence and Relevant Documents Relating to Important Questions Dealt With by the Federation During the Year 1967," New Delhi, 1968, page 358.
15. Ibid., page 356.
16. Ibid., page 358.
17. "A Minimum Program...", op. cit., pp 8-9.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., page 9.
22. Ibid., page 6.
23. Ibid.
24. DECCAN HERALD, 23 November 1980.
25. "A Minimum Program...", op. cit., page 5.
26. Ibid., page 6.
27. Ibid., pp 11, 13; TIMES OF INDIA, 5 November 1980.
28. "A Minimum Program...", op. cit., pp 8-9, 12.
29. Ibid., page 12.
30. Ibid., page 5; TIMES OF INDIA, 5 November 1980.
31. ECONOMIC TIMES, 13 December 1980.
32. "Minimum Program for Harmonious...", op. cit., pp 11-14.
33. Ibid.
34. "A Minimum Program for Economic Action," op. cit., pp 1, 3; "Minimum Program for Harmonious...", op. cit., pp 1, 3.
35. "Minimum Program for Harmonious...", ibid., page 5.
36. DECCAN HERALD, 23 November 1980.

37. See "XXV s"yezd KPSS i problemy ideologicheskoy bor'by v stranakh Azii i Afriki" [The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of Ideological Struggle in Countries of Asia and Africa], Moscow, 1979, pp 170-182.
38. "A Minimum Program of Economic Action," op. cit., page 15.
39. DECCAN HERALD, 23 November 1980.
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#### ACADEMIC CONFERENCE ON ASIAN PROBLEMS HELD

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 page 130

[News brief, published under the heading "Scientific Affairs": "Calendar Notes: Moscow"]

[Text] An international political science conference entitled "Current Problems of Contemporary Asia," organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, was held on 30 June-2 July of this year. Participants included scholars from the Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute, the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, a number of other scientific establishments and educational institutions, as well as representatives of Soviet public organizations. The conference was attended by approximately 50 representatives of scientific, governmental and public organizations from 16 Asian countries. An address entitled "Asia in Today's World" was presented at the plenary session by Ye. M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, and a presentation entitled "Economic and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the Countries of Asia -- Results and future prospects" -- by I. A. Kulev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee on Foreign Economic Relations. Root problems of the socialist revolution in Vietnam and development of that republic's international relations, as well as strengthening of Soviet-Vietnamese relations were discussed by Nguyen (Khan'-Toan), president of the Committee of Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Sections operating at the conference included "Asia in Contemporary International Relations," "Internal Processes in the Countries of Asia," and "Relations Between the USSR and the Countries of Asia."

A detailed report on the conference proceedings will be published in the next issue of this journal.

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UNESCO SPONSORS SYMPOSIUM ON ATATURK CENTENARY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 135-136

[Article, published under the heading "Scientific Affairs" and the subheading "Calendar Notes," by V. I. Danilov and I. F. Chernikov: "UNESCO International Symposium Dedicated to the Mustafa Kemal Ataturk Birth Centennial"]

[Text] Chapters from a monograph entitled "Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State" were discussed at a symposium held in Paris on 16-18 December 1981.\* The book was prepared by an international team of authors under UNESCO aegis. The book contains 10 chapters, grouped in two sections: Part I -- "Political Structures and Their Dynamics," and Part II -- "Economic and Cultural Development." The first part contains the following sections: "Principles of Kemalism" -- written by Enver Zia Karal, former president of the Turkish Historical Society; "The Osman Turkish State and Kemalism" -- by Professor Ali Kazancigil (Turkey); "Ataturk -- Founder of New State Institutions" -- New York University Professor Denkvart A. Rostow; "The Essence of the Kemalist Political Regime" -- by Ankara University Professor Ergun Özbudun; "Kemalism and World Peace" -- by V. I. Danilov, chief of the Turkey Sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies; "The Kemalist Revolution in a Comparative Perspective" -- by Jerusalem University professor S. N. Eisenstadt. The second part contains the following sections: "The Political Economy of Kemalism" -- by University of Massachusetts (Boston) professor Feroz Ahmad; "Kemalist Economic Policy and Etatism" -- by Ankara University Professor Korkut Boratav; "Religion and Secularism in Turkey" -- by Bosphorus University (Istanbul) professor Sherif Mardin; "Modernization of Japan and Turkey: Some Comparisons" -- by Takeshi Hayashi, advisor at the Institute of Developing Economies (Tokyo).

The team of authors took part in the symposium proceedings. Those chapters of the monograph which were published on the eve of the symposium were sent to a group of Orientalists, who prepared in advance to speak in the discussion as official participants. This group included the following: professor M. (Arkun) (University of Paris, VIII), P. Anderson (University of Manchester), Professor B. (Badi) (University of Paris I), S. (Gopal) (India), Professor E. (Inenyu)

\* "Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State," Ali Kazancigil and Ergun Özbudun, editors, London, C. Hurst and Company, 1981, 243 pages. For more detail about this book see the review by I. L. Fadeyeva in this issue of the journal, pp 173-177.



(Bosporus University), Professor A. (Ruk'ye) (Institute of Political Studies, Paris), I. (Shivi) (University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania); I. F. Chernikov (UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries), Professor T. Timur (Ankara University), N. Vergin (Istanbul University), and Professor S. (Yerasimos) (University of Paris VII). Also participating in the symposium proceedings were scholars from France, Turkey, and other countries, UNESCO officials, Turkish students studying in Paris, members of the UNESCO Permanent Mission of the Republic of Turkey, headed by permanent representative ambassador (Kh. Sainsoy), plus others. The geography of symposium participants could have been enlarged, however, particularly by inviting scholars from socialist countries, such as Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, where a great deal of study has been done on Ataturk's intellectual legacy. In our view it would have been useful to expand the number of participants from developing countries -- it is precisely they who, utilizing the experience of their own countries, could vividly show the significance of Ataturk's legacy in present-day conditions.

The symposium discussion dealt with the following principal areas: the main principles of Kemalism; religion and secularism in Turkey; some aspects of modernization in Japan and Turkey; a comparative analysis of the Kemalist revolution; the Osman state and Kemalism (the historical roots of Kemalism); Ataturk as a political leader and founder of political institutions; the Kemalist political regime; external political principles of Kemalism and the foreign policy of K. Ataturk; economic policy of the Kemalists and the principle of etatism.

In the course of the discussion several representatives of Western Oriental studies attempted to reduce to a minimum discussion of the experience of the national liberation movement of the Turkish people and its significance in our time. There was also a tendency to downplay the significance of friendly Soviet-Turkish relations and cooperation between the USSR and Turkey while Ataturk was alive and the significance of the experience of cooperation between the Kemalists and the socialist countries for victory of the national liberation movement, consolidation of its successes, and strengthening of the political and economic dependence of the young state. At the same time they stressed Ataturk's achievements in Westernizing the Turkish society, that is, in bringing it closer to the Western world in an economic, political, and cultural respect. For example, they focused attention on Ataturk's role in establishing in Turkey political institutions on the model of the Western bourgeois democracies. Even the principle and policies of secularism were interpreted one-sidedly, only as an endeavor on the part of Ataturk to depart from traditional Islamic ideology and to bring Turkey closer to Western spiritual and intellectual values. At the same time a number of Western and Turkish scholars noted the imperialist character of the policy of the West toward Turkey, especially during the period of the national liberation movement, and emphasized Turkey's special interests as a developing country, which were in conflict with the interests of the West, as well as the significance of the Soviet people's support for the struggle of the Turkish people for independence under the guidance of the Kemalists (P. Anderson, P. Dumont, S. Yerasimos, and E. Z. Karal).

Some participants in the discussion criticized certain aspects of Kemalism. I. (Shivi), for example, while highly praising the experience of the national liberation struggle of the Turkish people against the imperialist nations, noted that not all the principles and not all the practices of the Kemalists can be useful to young nations today. He also drew attention to certain aspects of the path of Turkish socioeconomic development chosen by the Kemalists, and in particular noted the inability of the Kemalists to solve the agrarian problem in that country. A number of speakers (S. Yerasimos, for example) noted the chauvinistic policy of the Kemalists toward the ethnic minorities in Anatolia. In each chapter of the monograph the discussion began with the statements of its authors. V. I. Danilov, author of the chapter "Kemalism and World Peace," presented the viewpoint of Soviet scholars on the basic foreign-policy principles of Kemalism and the foreign policy conducted by Ataturk. He also discussed the scholarly activities conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies in connection with the K. Ataturk birth centenary.

I. F. Chernikov, presenting commentary on the chapter by Indian scholar F. Ahmad entitled "The Political Economy of Kemalism," presented persuasive facts attesting to Ataturk's influence and personal interest in establishment and activation of economic, scientific, and cultural relations between both countries, on the selfless assistance and support offered by the first socialist country in rebuilding the Turkish national economy and in overcoming the grave consequences of the exercise of power by the colonialists in Turkey.

The exchange of views in evaluating the principles of Kemalism and a number of complex problems of the socioeconomic, political and cultural development of the Republic of Turkey proved highly useful. The principal areas of scholarly discussion are among those problems which today arouse particular interest not only in Turkish studies but in Eastern studies in general.

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## RECENT ACADEMIC WRITINGS ON AFRICA, ASIA SURVEYED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 137-144

[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the sub-heading "Surveys," by A. S. Silin: "Modern History of the Countries of Asia and Africa in 'Uchenyye zapiski' and 'Sborniki' of Universities and Pedagogic Institutes (1977-181)"]

[Text] This survey is a chronological continuation of our earlier article dealing with this same topic.<sup>1</sup> As was already noted in the preceding survey article, historians teaching modern and contemporary history of the countries of Asia and Africa at our country's higher educational institutions are conducting systematic research on the problems of Eastern and African studies connected with this course subject matter. The results of their research are published for the most part in various sborniki [volumes of collected articles], series or continuing publications of the type "Trudy" [Works], "Uchenyye zapiski" [Scholarly Notes], etc, published by the humanities faculties of universities and pedagogic institutes. In this article we shall endeavor to cover the principal subject matter and research in this field of scholarly endeavor which has been published during these five years. For the reader's convenience, we have grouped all articles as follows: 1) relations between Russia and the countries of the East; 2) colonial policy of the capitalist powers and inter-imperialist conflict in the countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania; 3) the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries; 4) the domestic political and economic situation in the countries of Asia and Africa; 5) reports and articles of historiographic and reference science content.

\* \* \*

Various aspects of Russia's political and economic relations with countries of the East are reflected in five articles.

An article by N. R. Rikhsiyeva,<sup>2</sup> on the basis of documents obtained at the Russian Foreign Policy Archives (RFP A), presents new data on the formation of a Cossack brigade in Iran in 1979-1980 [sic] with the assistance of the czarist government, and on this brigade's troop strength and command personnel. The author also discusses the role which this brigade played in the period of the bourgeois revolution of 1905-1911 in implementing the political plans of czarism, in particular in strengthening influence on the shah and his entourage.

R. M. Ter-Yegiazarova,<sup>3</sup> presenting materials published in the British press as well as official records of Parliament proceedings, describes the extensive anti-Russian campaign organized in 1911-1912 by the so-called Persian Committee in London. This committee served as an instrument of an influential group of British businessmen seeking to seize the Iranian market and that country's mineral wealth. In order to mobilize public opinion against the policy of Foreign Minister E. Grey, a hue and cry was raised about plans, allegedly hatched in Saint Petersburg, to penetrate to the Persian Gulf, to dismember Iran, seize India, etc. The author concludes that there was strong opposition, both within and outside the ruling Liberal Party, to the government's policy in Iran, policy inspired by representatives of an Anglo-Indian financial group. This group was attempting to set itself up in the neutral zone established by the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, a zone in which the principal enterprises of British capital were to be found at that time.

A brief article by A. Ya. Sokolov<sup>4</sup> discusses the activities of representatives of Afghan commercial capital on the territory of Turkestan in conditions where Indian and Persian commercial interests were being squeezed out of the Afghan market in the latter half of the 19th century. The author notes that the Russian administration of Turkestan Kray was treating the numerous Afghan traders and artisans in a friendly and patronal manner. A number of measures were undertaken which were aimed at regulating and developing trade with neighboring countries, including Afghanistan, which fostered the growth of an Afghan emigré community. All this attests to the fact that Russian commercial-industrial capital needed Afghan trade intermediaries. The favorable situation created for them unquestionably stimulated development of commercial operations between Russia and Afghanistan.

A. S. Guzin discusses Russo-Siamese relations in two articles. In the first of these<sup>5</sup> he discusses Russia's position in the Franco-Siamese conflict of 1891-1893, resulting from claims from the French Government to territory on the left bank of the Mekong River which was part of the Kingdom of Siam. Citing RPPA documents subjected to scholarly examination for the first time, the author shows that attempts by Bangkok to obtain the support of Saint Petersburg and France, when a Franco-Russian military-political alliance had just been signed, were unsuccessful. Russia took a neutral position in the Franco-Siamese conflict. In the second article,<sup>6</sup> on the basis of analysis of documents from that same archive, A. S. Guzin defines the political-strategy aims of the czarist diplomatic effort in Siam in the 1890's and the purpose behind a journey taken by the King of Siam to Saint Petersburg in 1897 which immediately preceded the establishment of official diplomatic relations with Russia. Not wishing to permit a strengthening of British influence in Siam, the Russian Government, as the author demonstrates, pursued an independent foreign policy, without relying on French support.

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One group of articles discusses colonial policy and interimperialist conflicts in the countries of Asia and Africa, as well as diplomatic activity connected with this. L. Temirkhanov<sup>7</sup> discusses the history of subjugation of the Eastern Pathan tribes to the Barakzai rulers of Kabul — Dost Muhammad Khan and his son, emir Sher Ali Khan, who toward this end supported the struggle by the Pathans against the Sikhs and British in the 1830's-1870's.



V. I. Sheremet<sup>8</sup> describes the various plans for building a Suez canal, proposed by Great Britain, France, and Austria in the 1830's-1840's, as well as plans drawn up on the instructions of Egypt's ruler at the time, Muhammed Ali. The author summarizes that conflicting interests among the powers hindered execution of these plans during those years.

Five articles deal with colonial policy on the eve of and during World War I.

An article by M. A. Mukhina<sup>9</sup> analyzes the China agreement concluded between France and Japan in 1907 and notes the negative reaction to this agreement by the Chinese national bourgeoisie, as well as criticism of this agreement by certain opposition circles within the French bourgeoisie which had major interests in Southern China and Indochina. A brief article by B. S. Zhigalov<sup>10</sup> describes the history of the signing of the Anglo-Japanese agreement of 1917, which specified, following victory over the coalition of central powers, division of Germany's rights in the Chinese province of Shantung and its island possessions in the Pacific between the parties to the agreement. Assessing this agreement, the author concludes that it attested to a weakening of the position of British imperialism in the Far East.

Ya. A. Dombrovskiy<sup>11</sup> describes the struggle within the U.S. ruling class on matters of policy toward the Philippines, a struggle which was waged on the eve of World War I. Particular attention is focused on revealing disagreements on the question of the future status of this U.S. colony between the supporters of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois "anticolonialism" on the one hand and those who advocated retaining direct U.S. dominion over the archipelago on the other. The author notes that these disagreements were not irreconcilable and ended with passage by Congress of the compromise Jones Bill, which extended the powers of Philippine bourgeois-landowner circles in administering the islands, which nevertheless constituted a certain victory for the "anticolonialists."

A concise research article by M. G. Orudzhev<sup>12</sup> on rivalry among the imperialist powers in Turkey during the first Balkan war does not present anything fundamentally new in comparison with the analysis and appraisals contained in the well-known studies by V. M. Khvostov, I. S. Galkin, and others. N. Nanitashvili<sup>13</sup> discusses the subversive activities of the extensive net of German agents in India during World War I. The principal objective of this agent net, which was to provoke a "total" anti-British rebellion in India and, in particular, a "holy war" by Indian Muslims against the "infidels" -- the British -- proved to be unattainable, although German agents did succeed in provoking isolated acts of rebellion in the Indian Army and among the civilian populace.

Three articles of a historiographic nature deal with British and French colonial policy. The first, authored by T. V. Turovskaya<sup>14</sup>, attempts to clarify the notions of T. B. Macaulay, a prominent 19th century English bourgeois historian, on the character of relations between British foreign, colonial, and domestic policy. On the basis of analysis of a number of books, reviews and public statements by Macaulay, the author demonstrates that this historian, seeking to justify British colonial policy in the countries of the East, praised and white-washed such repressive colonialists as Clive, Hastings, and Elliot. Macaulay had a like approach to the problem of Ireland. The author notes in conclusion that Macaulay considered maintaining the political dominance of the Whigs to be

an important condition for a continued British hold on its colonies. An interesting article by V. I. Peftiyev<sup>15</sup> critically reviews works on the history of French colonial policy in West Africa in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, published abroad in the 1960's and 1970's. A research article by S. S. Paskov<sup>16</sup> examines the views of contemporary Japanese historians of various political opinion — conservative, bourgeois-liberal, and representatives of progressive historical thought, on Japanese policy in China during the years of the 1911-1913 Xinhai Revolution and notes the considerable interest in this problem on the part of contemporary Japanese historiography. Works by Japanese historians on this subject are important for determining their general interpretation of expansion by imperialist Japan in China.

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A number of articles deal with aspects of the national liberation movement in Iran and India.

An article by V. I. Yurtayev<sup>17</sup> discusses the role of the Shiite clergy in the well-known violent demonstrations by the Iranian people in 1890-1892 against the British tobacco monopoly of Talbot. The author traces the participation of various strata of the clergy in this extensive anti-imperialist movement and defines its stages.

A. V. Turkov<sup>18</sup> discusses the political situation and the manifestations of social thought in India in the period directly preceding the founding of the National Congress Party in the mid-1880's. The author describes various trends in the Indian national movement and traces the gradual formation of anticolonial opposition in that country, which found unique expression in the appearance of religious-reformer organizations. In this deteriorating situation the colonial authorities fostered the emergence of a national political party, figuring on subjugating it to their control and influence.

An article by V. I. Prokof'yev<sup>19</sup> discusses the slogan "National Education" -- one of the main slogans in the period of upsurge of the national liberation movement in India in 1905-1908. The author discusses the basic elements connected with this problem: participation of student youth in the movement, founding of the Rangpur National School -- the first educational institution in India independent of the British authorities, and founding of the National Education Council. In conclusion the author briefly describes the activities of this council, which played a positive role in the national liberation movement, which was manifested in particular in the founding of 150 elementary and 20 secondary national schools by 1909.

P. I. Khoteyev<sup>20</sup> relates an interesting page in the life of famous Indian independence fighter Mahendra Pratap -- his stay in Afghanistan during World War I, to which he traveled as a member of a German-Austrian expedition headed by Hentig, for the purpose of drawing Afghanistan into the war against Britain on the side of the Central Powers coalition. The author tells of unsuccessful attempts by Pratap to persuade the emir of Afghanistan, Habibullukhan, to go to war against Britain, and equally unsuccessful efforts to obtain from the czarist government support for the Indian patriotic emigré community in its struggle

against the British colonialists. In conclusion the author notes the reasons for these failures.

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Some articles deal with problems of domestic politics and the economy of the countries of Africa and Asia. An interesting article by Sh. Makhmudbekov<sup>21</sup> describes, on the basis of extensive use of contemporary Arabic language literature, the emergence of the worker class in Egypt following occupation of that country by British colonialists in 1882. The author reports on the founding of the first trade unions in the 1890's, presents facts about worker strikes at enterprises of the tobacco and other industries, and discusses activities of the trade unions in 1900-1918. The article notes that the trade union movement in Egypt during those years was under the influence of the bourgeois National Party, led by famous leader of the national movement Mustafa Kamil. A short article by A. Ya. Sokolov<sup>22</sup> deals with the complex internal political events in Afghanistan at the end of the 1880's. At the first stage of the rebellion which erupted at that time, under the leadership of Ishak Khan, grandson of Afghan emir Dost Muhammad, separatist tendencies predominated, while the dynastic pretensions of the leader of the rebellion predominated in the second stage. In the author's opinion, these pretensions were the reason for the failure of the uprising, since they caused a split among the insurgents. T. Mukhiddinov is the author of two brief articles which are close in subject matter. In the first of these articles,<sup>23</sup> on the basis of a critical analysis of Persian sources, the author briefly describes the administrative reforms approved by the Majlis in an atmosphere of growing activeness on the part of the masses during the period of the 1905-1911 bourgeois revolution. The author concludes that, in spite of their limited scope, organization of municipalities became a form of self-government which encompassed comparatively broad segments of the population. In his second article<sup>24</sup> the author discusses the causes of the financial crisis which arose during that same period and measures taken by the Majlis to resolve it. The author notes that as a result of opposition to this policy by the feudal aristocracy, led by Mohammed Ali Shah, the Majlis was unable fully to implement decisions on financial matters. This was also hindered by the fact that the majority of representatives of the liberal wing of parliament went over to the camp of the feudal reactionaries in a situation of a growing revolutionary movement.

An article by A. D. Novichev<sup>25</sup> reveals the serious consequences of the Crimean War for Turkey, a fact which has usually been ignored by Western and Turkish historiography. The author notes Turkey's financial bondage to Anglo-French capital, which began during this war, and the fact that Turkey granted its allies -- Great Britain and France -- the first railway concessions. Analysis of the content of the famous 18 February 1856 decree by the Sultan (Hatt-i Humayun) on reforms (Tanzimat) shows that Britain and France took advantage of a weakened Turkey to force the Porte to yield new concessions, which are specified in a number of articles of this decree. A. D. Novichev also cites a number of facts attesting to increased French and particularly British influence on the foreign and domestic policy of the Sultan's government, which was also manifested in the course of the 1856 Paris Peace Congress and in its decisions.



B. M. Novikov<sup>26</sup> investigates the organization of the secret movement of the Chinese lower classes, known by the name "Hongmen" ("Hong Brotherhood" or "Great Family"). This movement was born in Southeastern China at the end of the 17th century. The author polemicizes with certain Soviet Sinologists who believe that the formation of any large popular organizations in feudal China would be impossible, and claims that in a certain historical environment conditions could arise which would be favorable for a comparatively broad unification of the masses, although temporary and far from solid, such as the "Hongmen." This organization played an important role in the struggle against the Manchu Dynasty from the end of the 17th century up to the Xinhai Revolution. A short article by V. S. Vlasov<sup>27</sup> analyzes the term "huohao," with which eminent 17th century Chinese thinker Gu Yanwu defined methods of "fleecing the people," which were quite widespread at that time, and the abuses created thereby. In the author's opinion, this term traditionally signified additional taxes levied in monetary form.

S. V. Volkov<sup>28</sup> presents in detail in two articles the history of the emergence and development of the Korean army up to the end of the 19th century. The author notes the rapid degradation of Korea's armed forces from the time Manchu Dynasty rule was imposed on that country, when Korea assumed a state of vassal dependence to China. At that time the Korean army virtually ceased to exist as a genuine force. Rebirth of Korea's armed forces was connected with its "discovery" in 1876 as a result of direct military pressure by Japan. Henceforth Korea became a target of expansion by the imperialist powers. An immediate threat of foreign invasion and loss of national independence gave particular importance at that time to the question of the state of Korea's armed forces.

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A comparatively large number of articles deal with historiography and reference science. We should mention several articles devoted to a biography of Russian Orientalists, as well as to describing some of their work which are little known to the larger community of specialists. These include articles by A. M. Yeldashev, T. Ya. Smolin, and G. F. Yefimov. An article by A. M. Yeldashev<sup>29</sup> contains a brief survey of the works of Kazan and Saint Petersburg University professor I. N. Berezin, who visited a number of countries in the Near and Middle East in 1842-1845. I. N. Berezin published material gathered during his trip to Iran and Turkey in OTECHESTVENNYE ZAPISKI in 1856, as well as in RUSSKIY VESTNIK and in Kazan publications (materials on Egypt were to be found in his diaries). A. M. Yeldashev describes I. N. Berezin's views on the political system in Iran and the Ottoman Empire. An article by T. Ya. Smolin<sup>30</sup> traces the life of Sinologist A. Ye. Lyubimov (1878-1945) and tells of his journey to China in 1908-1909 and about his scholarly and teaching activities at Saint Petersburg-Petrograd University in 1910-1919 and later at educational institutions and archives in the city of Penza. G. V. Yefimov's brief article<sup>31</sup> discusses the scholarly activities of Leningrad Japanese specialist N. K. Sazonova (1908-1939), who died at an early age, a pupil of that great China and Japan expert Professor N. V. Kyuner. The author directs attention to the fact that her unpublished candidate's dissertation on the subject "Peasant Movements in Japan During the First Years of the Meiji Reign (1868-1880)," is still of considerable scholarly value today.



A historiographic article by V. V. Savosteyev<sup>32</sup> devotes principal attention to a study by progressive Japanese historian Shimoyama Saburo entitled "History of Study of the Meiji Period," which was published in 1966 and has gone through several editions. It examines the still debated problem of the place and role of the monarchy in Japan's socioeconomic and political development after 1868. Shimoyama attempts to explain the question of change in the class character of the imperial system in Japan on the basis of Lenin's evaluation of the class nature of czarism in postreform Russia. V. V. Savosteyev notes certain errors by the Japanese historian in describing Lenin's views. At the same time he points out that the Leninist concept of czarism indeed provides a foundation for settling the debatable issues of the Meiji period.

Reference science articles by V. L. Larin and O. V. Kuguk analyze documents pertaining to the domestic situation in China in the first half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. Larin's article<sup>33</sup> examines the documents in two volumes of a collection of documents entitled "Vosstaniye musul'man" [The Muslim Rebellion], compiled by prominent Chinese historian Bai Shouyi and published in Shanghai in 1953. The documents reflect conflicts on the soil of class and ethnic tensions, which occurred in the 1830's and 1840's in Southern China, in Yunnan Province. Study of this source helps elucidate the true causes of these frictions and to determine the nature of clashes between ethnic Chinese and Muslims, which erupted not without the instrumentality of local Chinese authorities and which escalated into an extensive rebellion in the 1850's to the 1870's. O. V. Kuguk's article<sup>34</sup> describes the contents of a report by Russian commercial agents on the results of their journey to Northern Manchuria in 1914-1915, which was published in Kharbin in 1916-1918. The author considers this report to be an important source on the history of that region. In particular, the report contains valuable information on the colonization of Northern Manchuria by Chinese, on its industrial development and commerce. At the same time O. V. Kuguk notes some substantial shortcomings of the report, such as the lack of an integral picture of the economic development of Northern Manchuria and an incorrect appraisal of many phenomena by its authors, as a result of mechanically transferring to semi-feudal China notions about the comparatively developed capitalist society in Russia.

G. S. Kharatishvili<sup>35</sup> gives a detailed description of the book "Dnevnik puteshestviya" [Diary of a Journey], written by famous Afghan writer, political commentator, public figure and educator Mahmud Tarzi (1868-1933). Mahmud Tarzi, who later became an active participant in the Young Afghan Movement, journeyed through Turkey, Greece, and Egypt in 1891. His diary contains diversified and detailed information on the cities and areas he visited. G. S. Kharatishvili stresses that "Diary of a Journey" was of great historical and cultural significance, since it was one of the first books which "opened up" Europe to the Afghans and acquainted the reader with the culture of the West and the most highly developed Muslim country. Especially valuable is the fact that it contained an appeal for reforms in Afghanistan in the areas of education, science and technology, industry and commerce.

An article by L. V. Stroyeva<sup>36</sup> analyzes the materials of an expedition by Academician S. G. Gmelin to the northern provinces of Iran (1771-1772), published in the 1780's, to which the author adds information obtained at the RFFA. L. V. Stroyeva notes the importance of information on the tax system, the

courts, the weapons of the Iranian army, and the rights of local khans, which was gathered by S. G. Gmelin during his journey through the provinces of Gilan, Mazanderan, and Asterabad.

An interesting article by A. D. Zheltyakov<sup>37</sup> discusses materials on the nationalities question which were published during the years of the Young Turk revolution in the Russian-language newspaper STAMBUL'SKIYE NOVOSTI. The author gives biographical data on this newspaper's editor, D. Korkmasov, who later was an active participant in revolutionary events in the Northern Caucasus in 1918-1920 and who served as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Dagestan Autonomous SSR in 1921-1932. A. D. Zheltyakov points to the significance of materials published in STAMBUL'SKIYE NOVOSTI on the struggle by the peoples of Turkey against the doctrine of Osmanism, which was being implanted by the ruling Young Turk Party. Assessing the general thrust of this newspaper, the author validly characterizes it as close to revolutionary democracy.

An article by Sh. Khushvakhtov<sup>38</sup> examines a book by prominent Egyptian civic leader and writer Sheikh (Rifaa At Takhtavi) (1801-1802), entitled "Program for Thinking Egyptians in Knowing the Joy of a Modern Education," which presents a theoretical synthesis of the sociopolitical reform carried out in Egypt during the rule of Muhammed Ali (1805-1848). The author is of the opinion that (Rifaa At Takhtavi's) book was at the same time a program document outlining the road to further reforms, and evidence of an awakening among the Arabs in the first half of the 19th century of a desire for separation from the Osman Empire and establishment of an independent Arab state.

A reference science study by L. N. Zhuravleva<sup>39</sup> constitutes a highly detailed survey of comments in the Russian primarily official and semiofficial press and statements by Russian scientists I. P. Minayev, P. I. Pashino and other witnesses on the forms and methods of penetration by the British colonialists into Upper Burma and its final seizure in the course of the Third Anglo-Burmese War of 1885.

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The materials of this survey confirm the significance of the overall contribution by higher educational institution faculty to study of the problems of modern history of the countries of Asia and Africa. At the same time it is obvious that from the standpoint of scholarly level, depth of investigation of stated problems, and encompassment of sources and literature, the articles reviewed are of varying value. In our opinion, not always does the subject matter of published articles even merit special examination. There continue to be published extremely few articles on the modern history of Africa. Just as in the period covered by our preceding survey -- 1971-1976 -- insufficient work is being done on many important problems in the area of nation forming, socioeconomic and ethnic relations in the countries of Asia and Africa. Another negative element is a decrease in the average size of articles published in higher educational institution collected volumes and scholarly notes, which makes it difficult for authors to describe even in concise form the sources and literature they have utilized. Unfortunately this is due to the continuing process of reducing the total number of pages allowed for higher educational institution publications.

On the whole there is no doubt that scholarly research by higher educational institution faculty teaching courses on the subject "Modern History of the Countries of Asia and Africa" is of considerable interest to a broad group of specialists in this area of historical science.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See A. S. Silin, "Problems of Modern History of the Countries of Asia and Africa in the UCHENYYE ZAPISKI and SBORNIKI of Universities and Pedagogic Institutes (1971-1976)," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 1, 1979, pp 178-187.
2. N. R. Rikhsiyeva, "The History of Cossack Units in Iran (From Archival Materials)," "Nauchnyye trudy Tashkentskogo gos. universiteta" [Scientific Works of Tashkent State University], Issue 564, Tashkent, 1978.
3. R. M. Ter-Yegiazarova, "British Public Opinion and Anglo-Russian Relations in Iran in 1911-1912," *ibid.*, Issue 517, 1976. This article, which is outside the chronological period covered by this survey, unfortunately was not considered by us in our previous survey article.
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13. N. Nanitashvili, "German Intrigues in India During World War I," TRUDY PED. IN-TOV GSSR, History and Philology Series, No 3, 1977, Tbilisi.
14. T. V. Turovskaya, "Aspects of British Colonial Policy As Seen by T. B. Macaulay," "Problemy novoy i noveyshey istorii" [Problems of Modern and Contemporary History], Moscow, 1975 (Moscow State University).
15. V. I. Peftiyev, "An Evaluation of Bourgeois Historiography of French Colonial Policy in West Africa (19th-Beginning of the 20th Century)," "Problemy istorii i istoriografii mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy v 19-20 vv" [Problems of History and Historiography of International Relations in the 19th-20th Centuries], Leningrad, 1979 (Leningrad State Pedagogic Institute imeni A. D. Gertsen).
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18. A. V. Turkov, "The Political Situation in India on the Eve of Establishment of the Indian National Congress Party," "Voprosy istorii stran Azii i Afriki," Issue 2, Moscow, 1980 (Moscow State University).
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24. T. Mukhiddinov, "Struggle to Overcome the 1907 Financial Crisis in Iran," *ibid.*
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32. V. V. Savosteyev, "Some Aspects of Evolution of Japan's Political System Following the Meiji Period in the Writings of Progressive Japanese Historians," "Istoriografiya i istochnikovedeniye stran Dal'nego Vostoka," Issue 2, Vladivostok, 1979 (Far Eastern State University).
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34. O. V. Kuguk, "Report of Chinese Eastern Railway Commercial Agents P. N. Men'shikov, P. M. Smol'nikov, and A. I. Chirkov as a Source of Information on the Economic Development of Northern Manchuria," *ibid.*
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#### NEW IRANIAN JOURNAL EVALUATED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 153-156

[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the subheading "Surveys," by D. S. Komissarov: "New Iranian Philological and Critical-Bibliographic Journal"]

[Text] The countenance and character of Iran's periodical press changed following the 1979 February Revolution, which led to proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Many periodicals ceased publication, others continued but changed their directional emphasis and, finally, new ones appeared. They include the "fat" journal AYANDE (Future), most of which is devoted to criticism and bibliography, which makes it at the present time one of a kind in Iran.

The first issue of AYANDE (Nos 1-3) came out in the spring of 1358 and is dated the months of Farvardin-Khordad (March-May 1979). At that time the journal was a quarterly with 4 issues per year: No 2 -- summer (issues 4-6); No 3 -- fall (issues 7-9); No 4 -- winter (issues 10-12). This infrequency evoked objections by the readership, who preferred more frequent publication.

In 1980 the journal came out once every two months, and in 1981 became a monthly, of course with substantially reduced contents. This year, 1982, the journal has again changed its frequency of publication (the January issue was again a double issue -- No 9-10).

AYANDE is being published in place of the critical-bibliographic journal RAHNEMAYE KETAB (Guide to Books), which had been published in Teheran since 1958. Its publisher was prominent Iranian philologist Professor E. Yar-Shater, and its editor and organizer was prominent textual analysis expert Iraj Afshar.

The name AYANDE is not mere happenstance. Its present publisher, Iraj Afshar, states in the foreword to the first issue: "The journal AYANDE was founded 55 years ago by my father and was published for 2 years, but the journal fell silent as a result of establishment of a despotic system. Following the August events of 1941 (when Reza Shah was forced to abdicate the throne -- D. K.) AYANDE resumed publication on three occasions, but soon the journal ceased its existence." This is why it states on the cover of today's AYANDE that its founder and first editor (in 1925) was Dr Mahmud Afshar, the father of Iraj Afshar, and that the journal, which had existed for 4 years, resumes publication as the fifth year.

In its external appearance AYANDE differs little from the journal RAHNEMAYE KETAB, especially from its issues since 1972. There are many similarities, but there are differences as well. For example, a representation of an old Iranian ornamented leather book binding, which appears to be the journal's emblem, appeared in the upper left corner of the cover and the first page of AYANDE. This emphasizes its areas of interest, as it were: "Literature, history, especially the publication of articles on Iranian studies, acquaintance with new books, publishing of reviews, comments, and old documents" (AYANDE, No 1, 1979, page 2).

In content as well the new AYANDE does not so much continue the line of the earlier journal of the same name as it preserves the character and style of RAHNEMAYE KETAB. The AYANDE of former years was a political and literary journal, while today this journal, just as RAHNEMAYE KETAB, publishes poetry, literary criticism and linguistic articles, historical documents and photographs, reviews, comments, and lists of new books, as well as bibliographic reference material. Little poetry is published, while the literary and linguistic articles are more of a cognitive and informational character. The same can be said about the historical documents, letters and portraits of statesmen and politicians, illustrations from old books, etc, which regularly appear in the journal. Thus AYANDE contains a large quantity of valuable information on various aspects of Iran's culture, and primarily information on manuscripts and published works which cannot be found in any other current Iranian journal.

AYANDE contains a total of more than 12 sections. The following appear regularly: "Studies" or "Iranian Studies," featuring articles dealing with Persian literature, language, translations, and history of Iran; "Iranian Scholars" -- this section contains information on Iranian scholars, both in Iran and abroad, and their research; "Documents" -- this section usually contains letters, historical documents, information and new facts on major events in the country's history and on significant personalities. A prominent place in the journal is occupied by the critical-bibliographic section, consisting of the following parts: "Critique of Books," that is, reviews; "New Books" -- this section contains concise reviews and evaluations of new books, which are particularly valuable due to their regularity (appearing in every issue) and completeness of listing of new titles appearing in the Iranian book market; "Foreign Books," which contains reviews of books by foreign authors on Iran, and from time to time publishes lists of manuscripts pertaining to the culture of Iran, in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and other languages, contained in libraries in different countries of the world.

The reader will also almost always find other sections in AYANDE: "Letters From Our Readers," "Discussions," "List of New Newspapers and Magazines," "Information" on conferences, scholarly and professional meetings held in various countries. The materials appearing both in these and the previously-mentioned sections pertain only to Iranian studies. We should also note that each issue of the journal contains a certain number of illustrations (reproductions of the covers of unique books, letters and portraits of Iranians prominent in literature, culture, and politics). I. Afshar deserves praise for publishing documents, refined and detailed facts, information on rare books and manuscripts pertaining to 19th century Persian literature, which aids in study of this important and very little treated period in the history of Iranian literature.



It is gratifying to note that AYANDE devotes attention to Soviet Iranian studies, considering this beneficial to Iranian scholarship. Three issues of the journal (No 1, 2, 3, 1979), for example, contain a detailed review by Reza Shaabani of a book by A. Arunova and K. Ashrafyan on the state of Nadir Shah Afshar, published in Teheran in 1973 in a Persian-language translation by Jamshid Mo'meni. No 4 began carrying a study by N. Khalfin about N. V. Khanykov in a translation by Abolfazl Azmud. The editors of AYANDE accompanied the first part with the following statement: "In acquainting ourselves with Orientalists and Iranian studies specialists, it is important for us to know what each one accomplished, and it is also of interest to have information on how they are represented in their own country" (AYANDE, No 4, 1979, page 813). That same issue contains a brief article on Azerbaijani materialist philosopher and progressive writer Mirza Fatali Akhundov, plus other materials.

The change in the journal's directional thrust is substantial and important. While the editors of RAHNEMAYE KETAB took a rigorously objectivist position and avoided contemporary political problems, fearing repression on the part of the government of the Shah, the situation changed following the 1979 revolution. Iraj Afshar was able to place on the full cover of the last issue of the journal RAHNEMAYE KETAB (No 8-12, March 1979) a portrait of Dr Mossadegh and an article written by him entitled "Mossadegh in History." Under the regime of the Shah, I. Afshar could easily have ended up in prison for this. The first issues of AYANDE also contained comments on the death of Mossadegh, various letters and photographs of Mossadegh, as well as information on his books published after the Iranian Revolution.

As could be expected, more reviews on books dealing with Islamic subject matter began to appear in AYANDE. Issue No 1, 1979, for example, contained a detailed review by Ahmad Ahmadi Birjandi of an interesting book by Mohammad Reza Hakimi, dealing with the role and significance of literature in the Islamic religion; in Issue No 2 we find a review by Mohammad Jafar Yahaki of a dictionary of Koranic terms, compiled at the library of the Imam Reza Sanctuary in Meshed; the section "New Books" contains brief reviews and evaluations of items published in Iran since the revolution, etc.

Iranian scholars could note that the publisher of AYANDE had begun devoting attention to progressive Iranian poets and prose writers, their works, as well as works of leftist trend. Here are several examples. In Issue No 1, 1979, the reader's attention is drawn to a collection of writings by Abolqasem Lahuti (page 167); the journal reports the arrival in Teheran of prominent Iranian writer Professor Bozorg Alavi, who had been forced to emigrate and who had lived far from his homeland for many years (page 180); the journal also lists 8 books by Bozorg Alavi, which for more than 25 years were forbidden in Iran and had just been published during the writer's sojourn in Teheran; the same issue of the journal contained an article by Abdorrahim Emadi on poet-satirist Mohammad Ali Afrasht, editor of the journal CHELENGER (Blacksmith), who had also been forced to go into hiding from persecution by the Shah (he died as an emigré abroad in 1960, at the age of 52, succumbing to a grave illness); the journal announced publication of a book entitled "Blind Submission" ("Etaate kurkurane") by the revolutionary Khosrow Rusbekh and a collection of poetry by revolutionary Kh. Golesorkhi, executed by the Shah's butchers, as well as works by other

Iranian patriots. The journal contained a brief review and evaluation of the theoretical organ of the People's Party of Iran, the journal DONYA (World).

I. Afshar devoted the third issue of the journal in 1979 to eminent Iranian progressive sociopolitical figure, patriot, poet, prose writer, journalist, and scholar Ali Akbar Khan Dekhoda; a good half of the issue (19 articles and reminiscences by prominent philologists) is devoted to the memory of this outstanding individual (1980 marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of A. Dekhoda), while the remainder of the issue, as always, was filled with reviews, brief evaluations, and a list of new literature. The articles by prominent Iranian scholars are not simply a sign of respect to a great man; many contain interesting new information and thoughts on various aspects of the wealth of writings by A. Dekhoda.

Continuing to publish materials connected with Dekhoda's life, I. Afshar published in issue No 4 of AYANDE that same year poems by Dr Seid Ali Shayegan which had been dedicated to him. A footnote accompanying the poem "Death of Dekhoda" states: "In the interrogation room at the military prosecutor's office, long after midnight, Dekhoda was in bad shape as a result of the crude, cruel treatment by the prosecutor. State security agents drove the half-dead Dekhoda home and dumped him by his front door, unconscious and in a grave state. They disappeared, failing to notify his relatives. Dekhoda remained lying in the street in front of his house in this condition until morning. Dekhoda's asthma became aggravated from his weakened physical state and the cold, and it became hard to breathe. Some time later, after incalculable torment and suffering, Ali Akbar Dekhoda died" (AYANDE, No 4, 1980, page 823). It turns out that A. Dekhoda did not die a natural death but was in essence murdered by state security agents, a fact which was carefully concealed during the Shah's regime.

But obviously there exist a great many additional unpublished materials on Dekhoda, since subsequent issues of the journal also contain interesting documents and poems describing his life and works. In Nos 9-12, 1980-1981, for example, we find letters from Dekhoda to Mossadegh, in which he gave useful advice for the purpose of making things easier for Mossadegh during his detention and trial. This same issue of the journal contains Dekhoda's test ment regarding his multivolume dictionary "Loghat-name" [Word and Letter], which at that time had not been fully published. Issues No 1-2, 1981, contain a letter from Dekhoda to Habib Yaghmai, and the section "News" in that issue reports completion of publication of the dictionary "Loghat-name," on which Dekhoda worked his entire life, while Issue No 5, 1981, contains two previously unknown photographs of Dekhoda.

Articles on Persian language and literature are also published in AYANDE. Issue No 1, 1979, for example, contains an interesting article by Sasan Sepent entitled "Ibn Sina and First Steps in Linguistics," in which he analyzes the linguistic studies of Ibn Sina and, discussing his significance for the history of linguistics, correctly states that "Ibn Sina is better known for his writings on medicine and philosophy. His book 'Place of Articulation of Sounds or Methods of Forming Sounds,' is a valuable scholarly work in the field of linguistics" (page 16).

No less interesting are articles on literary analysis and criticism. Take the article by Mohammad Ali Sepanlu entitled "The Short Story in the Year of the Revolution," which contains a survey of volumes of short stories published in Iran in the first year after the revolution (AYANDE, Nos 3-4, 1980). It is impossible in a single brief article to discuss in detail the specific features of the Iranian short story, but even a simple enumeration of the volumes of short stories published during this time and a brief description of these volumes are of considerable value for the Iranian literature specialist.

A literary-historical article by Hasan Javadi entitled "Satire and Social Criticism in Persian Literature in the Preconstitution Period" (AYANDE, No 5, 1981; No 9-10, 1982) discusses the significance attached to this important subject in Iranian literary history.

Thus AYANDE presents the reader a scholarly philological, historical, and critical-bibliographic journal.

Bibliographic science in Iran has experienced considerable development in recent decades. A great many bibliographic reference works as well as publishers' catalogues have been published. But the majority of these reference sources cover things published only up to the middle of the 1960's, and by virtue of the specific features of publishing in Iran are unable to keep up with the rapid increase in the number of books published in this country. This circumstance adds importance to the journal AYANDE and its critical-bibliographic section, because for the Iranian studies specialist living outside Iran the journal AYANDE is at the present time the only publication which regularly publishes reviews, brief evaluations and lists of new books and journals published in Iran.

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## BOOK ON INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ASIAN COUNTRIES REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 157-163

[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the sub-heading "Reviews," by V. L. Sheynis: "G. K. Shirokov: The Industrial Revolution in the Countries of the East"; passages highlighted by use of double-spaced words enclosed in slantlines]

[Text] The book being reviewed deals with a problem the relevance and scientific significance of which are unquestioned. The industrial revolution in the West constituted a radical turning point in the economy, social development and the entire way of life of the European peoples. For many years now it has drawn the close attention of scholars and has generated an extensive literature. A counterpart process in the East, which has been taking place in recent decades, is occurring under totally different sociohistorical conditions and poses problems the ways to solve which are in large measure unclear at the present time.

Publication of a book which undertakes a comparative historical analysis of two eras of industrial development separated from one another by approximately one and a half centuries is a significant phenomenon in Soviet historical-economic literature. A broad historical perusal of the subject of investigation is a major virtue of this monograph. In my opinion it is exceptionally important in the socioeconomic area of Eastern studies to establish -- as a methodological principle -- an understanding of the linkage and succession of the world-historical process, a historical view of the phenomena being studied. This book by G. K. Shirokov makes a substantial contribution to such an understanding of the subject.

The book's contents are broader than its title. The author's principal attention is drawn by the socioeconomic aspects of the industrial revolution, which as he sees it constitutes a twofold process of "capitalist and technological transformation of the economy" (page 6). From this proceeds an important limitation of the object of investigation to countries developing along a capitalist path. It seems to me that such a use of the term "industrial revolution" is excessively restrictive for today's conditions: as was indicated by the experience of the

\* G. K. Shirokov, "Promyshlennaya revolyutsiya v stranakh vostoka," Moscow, Glav. red. vost. lit-ry izd-va Nauka, 1981, 215 pages.



20th century, transition from a preindustrial to an industrial system of productive forces is a broader mechanism than the capitalist form of this transition, but at the present time we lack an adequate designation differing from the generally accepted term "industrial revolution" for this process on a non-capitalist foundation. It is not surprising that the author himself notes elsewhere that "capitalism as a whole ceased to be the sole basis of industrial revolution" (page 98).

Concentration of attention on those variants of technological revolution which are taking place within the framework of capitalism, however, enabled G. K. Shirokov to examine in detail the fundamental question around which heated debate has been conducted in recent years: "Is capitalism as a system capable of encompassing the majority of developing countries? ...Can local capitalism, even with external support, 'digest' traditional structures?" (page 5). This question of course is inseparably linked with the paths, timetables and capabilities of technological modernization of an economy, but it also has an entirely independent significance -- both theoretical and practical.

In accordance with his scheme, the author prefaces the bulk of his presentation with a chapter in which he summarizes in concise form the distinctive features of the industrial revolution in the West. Although a great deal has been written on this subject both in the Soviet Union and abroad, it seems to me that the author's estimate (page 8) of the significance of this section of the book is too modest: he has unquestionably succeeded in taking a new look at well-known processes, if only because a great many elements in events which took place 150-200 years ago are seen more clearly through the prism of contemporary processes, on the background of drawing into the industrial revolution the broad base of the pyramid of the world's population. An understanding of the /distinctive/ features of the "classic" version of the industrial revolution, which as a rule do not coincide with that which is observed today along the periphery of the capitalist world, not only is an essential prerequisite but also an integral component part of the entire investigation.

A synthesized "model" of the industrial revolution in the West, as it is presented in this monograph, looks as follows. Exclusively industry was the domain in which this revolution took place. Incorporation of machinery in other sectors of the economy began as a rule only when the industrial revolution was approaching its final stage -- production of machines by machines (it is true that this line in continental Europe appears rather diffuse chronologically, but this does not alter the overall picture).

/The economic unit/ of the revolution was the capitalist enterprise, the technically and economically optimal size of which was relatively small, since the typical point of departure for the movement was the capitalist factory (which did not experience appreciable development in the East). This promoted mass and rapid development of an industrial system of productive forces and total victory for the capitalist mode of production.

/The macroeconomic foundation/ of the revolution was the rate of accumulation, which slowly increased from 6-7 to 10 percent of gross product, that is, to a level which now is totally inadequate and has been surpassed (with the aid of external injections, to be true) even in the least developed countries.

/Interbranch linkages/ were formed in such a manner that branches mutually supported and supplemented one another. This applies in particular to agriculture, the productive resources of which, although for an extended period of time remaining outside the domain of industrialization, nevertheless were experiencing evolution, but not involution. Economic development was spontaneously leading to a decline in the rate of return, to depreciation of the elements of working capital, to an influx of requisite manpower from the village to the city, while agriculture as a whole was increasingly more appreciably becoming involved in universalization of the reproduction process.

This /universalization/ was becoming increasingly more clearly expressed at both poles of reproduction: both production consumption and personal consumption funds were being subjected to certain standardization and leveling, which was resulting both in an absolute expansion of the market and decreased fractionalism of demand, and thus in a "natural" growth in the size of economic units, increased efficiency of societal production, and technological advance.

/The ratio of active to reserve labor army/ differed from one country to another in the forward echelon of capitalist development, but the combination of factors determining this ratio never led to a catastrophic disruption of the balance between them (a detailed comparative analysis of economic and demographic factors which determined the rate of unemployment in the West and East is presented by G. K. Shirokov, for practically the first time in Soviet economics literature; it is important to emphasize this, for courses in political economy frequently form the impression that the scale of unemployment depends only on increase in the organic structure of capital).

/Possession of colonies/ and the developing system of /international division of labor/ strengthened the industrial character of the economy of the home countries and fostered progressive reorganization of the job skills structure of the labor force.

As G. K. Shirokov sees it, these are some of the most important distinctive features of the industrial revolution in the West. The book goes on to show in detail that in all these parameters the "Eastern" is opposite its European "prototype." The industrial revolution here is of a "transposed" nature to a significant degree, and therefore it has touched more or less simultaneously all domains of the national economy, but formidable obstacles arise in its path in each (including in industry). The technologically optimal size of enterprise has increased substantially, the investment barrier has correspondingly risen, while the problem of distribution of limited resources between consumption and accumulation has become sharply aggravated. On a branch cross section the economy is heavily disintegrated, and industrialization is not eroding away but rather consolidating reproduction cycles of different types. The domestic market is expanding slowly for goods both of production and personal consumption, it is sharply stratified in addition, while participation in international division of labor, into which the Eastern countries are irreversibly bound, is increasing the vulnerability of their economic development, although it does impart to it essential impulses. Finally, the problem of unemployment (taking into consideration partial and inefficient employment) has not only taken on an immense scale but there are also no rapid or radical methods of solution.

This unique parallel examination of two different socioeconomic structures states the question very sharply: /why/ is a turning-point historical process, in which the universalism of world development is manifested, taking place substantially differently in the East than in the West? Answering this question, G. K. Shirokov analyzes in detail the prehistory of the industrial revolution in the East and shows its inverted character in comparison with the historically initial version: adoption of a system of machines, although on an enclave basis, preceded rather than followed the development of bourgeois relations. Turning to the prehistory of the industrial revolution in the East, the author builds a bridge, as it were, from historical Eastern studies, which have old and very honorable traditions in our country, to economic and political-economic studies of contemporary processes, within the framework of which many carefully prepared studies have appeared in recent years, marked both by originality of thinking and by close attention to sources, but lacking retrospective historical examination. The author of the book under review has succeeded in avoiding two dangers which lie in wait for the investigator: restriction of the subject solely to its contemporary "section" and replacement of a historical introduction to the subject with a formal exposition which contains a number of trivialities.

G. K. Shirokov correctly takes issue with the common view that the industrial backwardness of the Eastern countries is due exclusively to external factors, be it the discriminatory policy of the colonial authorities, or unchecked competition by foreign goods (page 44). He sees a way to resolve the issue in the fact of imposition of a number of adverse external influences on a unique, in its own way balanced (and therefore fairly inert) socioeconomic structure. The very astute analysis of the dynamic interaction of economic categories performed by the author shows in particular how the import of foreign goods differently influenced the various lower forms of precapitalist industrial production and enables one to reach the important conclusion that "the development of capitalism 'from below,' which was of such great importance in the countries of Western Europe and North America, was in the Eastern countries rather the exception than the rule in the colonial period" (page 53).

Why is it that capitalism in the East did not receive development "from below," and did not acquire a mass base? A political-economic explanation for this fact is presented by G. K. Shirokov with great completeness and persuasiveness. At the same time it is obvious that the store of "explanatory" arguments at the level of political economy is almost exhausted, although the answer is as yet far from complete. I believe that the most promising direction of scientific search -- and correspondingly a subject of future discussion -- is connected with a combination of an economic and sociological approach. An adequate understanding of the problem requires analysis not only of the economic system but also of the sociocultural stereotypes of the East, which frequently prove to be stronger, as is correctly noted by the author in a number of instances (pp 85-86), than the ownership relations which reforms sought to change. This question has a most direct relationship not only to the past but also to the future of capitalism in the East.

Examining the present stage of the industrial revolution in the East, the author presents many interesting points. A great deal has been written about the problem to which a large part of the book is devoted: the correlation between



external and internal factors of economic development, the role of the state, different variants of development strategy, structural changes in production and consumption, economic growth limiters which replace one another, etc. G. K. Shirokov has succeeded, however, in finding an original approach and in subordinating the presentation to his scheme and the concept of industrial revolution in the East which he develops.

A particularly attractive feature of this book is the fact that many issues on which stereotype notions have become established in the literature are examined from a new, sometimes unexpected angle. They include, for example, treatment of results and possibilities of import substitution and export policy (the first of these policies is rated by the author somewhat more positively and the latter more critically than has generally been the case in studies written in recent years). Even more important is the fact that appraisal of these two development strategies, about which there is sharp debate, is presented in a broader and more precise context of choice between two variants of industrial development -- establishment of multibranch industrial complexes, and development of key branches of industry. G. K. Shirokov is correct in stating that such a formulation of the problem is of a more synthesized character and that within the framework of this formulation the alternative "import substitution for export emphasis" proves to be secondary, reflecting a decisive choice in refracted form (page 119). The author shows and explains for practically the first time at a theoretical level change in price and value proportions in the economy of developing countries following declaration of independence (pp 86-91).

The author also very convincingly demonstrates the obsolescence of certain persisting assessments and their incongruity with changing conditions, such as the widespread notion of a particularly "low cost" of labor and "high cost" of capital in developing countries (pp 91-94) and on the dialectic of interlinkage between production and consumption, whereby the leading role of the former in respect to the latter is not really so indisputable and occurs in an indirect form (pp 163-164), etc. We should note in this connection that G. K. Shirokov's book in many respects helps overcome the inertia of scholarly thinking and prompts a revision of many concepts which have seemed obvious and unshakeable.

Where is the trajectory of socioeconomic development in the majority of Eastern countries leading? As regards the evolution of productive resources, the author is fairly restrained in assessing the possibilities of direct utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, bypassing the stage of machinery production, and correctly points out that "'superposing' the scientific and technological revolution on the industrial revolution complicates to an even greater degree the problems" of developing countries (pp 101-102). "Compression" and simultaneity of technical reequipping of all domains of the national economy (rather than stretching out in time over one and a half to two centuries, as was the case in the West) -- this is how the author sees both today and the immediate future for the industrial revolution in the East. While generally in agreement with this position, we should like to make two points. First of all, "compression" should be perceived not as a shortening of a time line but rather as inclusion of a larger number of branches in the process of modernization already at an early stage. There is no basis to assume that complete technical reequipping of all sectors of the economy in Asian countries will



require less time than it required in the West (especially if one makes comparison not with England but with Scandinavia or Southern Europe). In any event, at the present time we cannot reliably determine this fact. In addition, although the industrial revolution has invaded all sectors of the economy, it is considerably more "advanced" in transportation and industry than in construction, in the industrial branches than in agriculture, etc. In this regard one can evidently also speak of a branch division by stages for the industrial revolution in the East.

In Europe and North America completion of the technological revolution in industry -- and only in industry -- coincided, in the author's opinion, with final consolidation of the capitalist mode of production. What are the prospects of the majority of Asian countries in this regard? Here we approach what in my view is the most interesting part of the concept presented by the book, its core. In the opinion of G. K. Shirokov, a "special type of capitalism" is forming in Asian countries of capitalist orientation, which includes "different methods of management of the economy and social processes" (page 96).

First of all, a mixed economy is developing into a dual economy: "In the pre-capitalist economies of developing countries there is taking place, as it were, a 'blending' of the character of production relations and reproduction conditions. Somewhat lower economic structures begin to lose their structural characteristics and begin to be gradually transformed into a relatively unified sector" (page 182).

Secondly, the sector of precapitalist production is not a transitional structure. The further in the past are the boundaries between structures, in a certain sense the deeper is the dividing line between capitalism and "precapitalism" and the more difficult it is to cross. "The laws of spontaneous growth of capital dictate the impossibility of complete technical reequipment of a developing economy due to the limitedness of investment resources, inadequacy of demand backed by ability to pay, stratification of its material structure, etc. Therefore sectors based respectively on industrial and traditional productive forces in the Asian countries are commencing self-reproduction.... The gap between these sectors in labor productivity is steadily increasing," the author writes (page 172). Employment of labor -- by virtue of the limited potential of local capitalism -- will be concentrated for quite a long time in the pre-capitalist sector (or around it).

Thirdly, as an increasingly larger portion of societal product is produced in the capitalist sector (page 179) and as the traditional exploiter classes increasingly take on attributes of the bourgeoisie (pp 181-182), and as small-scale commodity (that is, of the same type as capitalist) production advances to a leading position as regards the total number of persons it encompasses (page 86), dominant production relations will increasingly more definitively assume a capitalist form (page 182). G. K. Shirokov concludes: "The economy of the Asian countries which are developing along a capitalist path will be garbed in the vestments of capitalist production relations, with its inherent economic, legal, ideological, and other standards, but these vestments will adorn not a capitalist but a dual economy" (page 189).

Fourth, a special role is played by the state in this socioeconomic structure. The author contrasts two points of view with his position on this issue: according to the first of these, state capitalism is a transient phenomenon which, with the increasing concentration of private capital, will more and more assume a subsidiary role; according to the second view, the state in a mixed-economy society acquires great independence, while the structural edifice of the state lacks clear-cut socioeconomic characteristics (pp 184-185). Challenging both these approaches, G. K. Shirokov believes that encouragement of capitalist development on a local basis and bourgeois transformation of precapitalist classes and strata is the determining function of the state (pp 74-82; 183-188).

In my opinion the third and fourth points of the scheme being reconstructed here (probably to some extent unifying but hardly distorting the ideas of G. K. Shirokov) contain the most debatable parts of this unquestionably unique and interesting conception, which considerably advances our knowledge of the developing world.

There is no doubt about the growing superiority of the contemporary over the traditional sector as regards share of generated product, but the capitalist nature proper of the relations which are predominant in it can be acknowledged only if the entire domain of economic activity of the state (not only its production but also its redistribution mechanism) is characterized as state capitalism. The author occupies precisely this position. But argumentation mobilized to defend this thesis does not seem adequate.

G. K. Shirokov points to "redistribution of the incomes of the end consumer to the benefit of private entrepreneurs" (page 80) and, probably, this can be statistically proven in many instances. No lesser role, however, and a role which is showing a trend toward increasing, as is correctly pointed out by the author, is being assumed by "redistribution of national resources from the accumulation fund to the consumption fund" of the lowest, most deprived strata (page 189 and other). Consequently, the movement of very substantial portions of societal resources in the contemporary sector of the Asian countries not only is not determined at the stage of production by well-known laws of capitalism (surplus value, profit, capitalist appropriation, etc), but falls completely out of capitalist circulation at the stage of distribution and redistribution.

Of course within the framework of a certain general sociological (but not political-economy -- this should be emphasized) hypothesis, the movement of all these resources can be viewed as corresponding indirectly to the tasks of capitalist development, since it provides capitalist development with a certain requisite set of social conditions. But such an important thesis requires proof and should not be introduced as a prerequisite of analysis. In the first place, in the majority of Eastern countries the private-enterprise bourgeoisie has no such historical experience or such preponderance in the economy over the state as was the case in the West, and it is not known whether it will have them. Secondly, accelerated development of the private-enterprise capitalist sector of the economy, encouraged by the state, within the framework of a compromise (as is quite correctly stressed by G. K. Shirokov, see pp 78, 136-137) strategy expressing the balance of interests of the most diversified social

strata, with a certain distribution of class forces can also function as a /means/ -- at this point we shall not address the question of how effective it is -- of achieving certain overall national goals: not only "in defense of the national economy against imperialism" (page 187), but also in development of productive resources, prevention of destructive social outbursts, etc, and also, at least in certain Asian countries, as a means of achieving the specific goals of that social stratum which we sometimes call state bourgeoisie, sometimes state bureaucracy, etc. I believe that the special interests of this stratum -- one more private interest in society! -- play an extremely important role in socioeconomic development in the East. The power and autonomy of the state develop here not only from the need to fill in a certain economic vacuum which formed after proclaiming independence (this is very interestingly demonstrated in the book), but also from the succession of historical traditions which go back to Eastern despotic rule and the colonial state.

The point is axiomatically introduced that even in the least developed countries "the state sector is of a capitalist nature according to the type of relations which form in it" (page 185). As we know, however, categories of the capitalist economy (profit, etc) are not a measure of effectiveness or a base of expanded reproduction in the state sector. The author himself is skeptical about claims of a subsidiary role by the state sector. Thus the specifically capitalist nature of economic social antagonisms which are evidently to be found within the state sector as well remains in question.

A specific version of capitalism indeed probably forms in the East, but its specific features are connected not only with the long-range prospects of existence of a dual economy but also with the nature of the "vestments of production relations" with which it is clothed, vestments which in my opinion are not purely capitalist or bourgeois but form a conflictive unity of forms of capitalism, "negation of capitalism within the framework of capitalism" (this important aspect of development has been mentioned -- see page 82 -- but unfortunately it is not developed in the book) and "precapitalism," that is, the market, plan, and inertia of precapitalist structures within the framework of a mixed economy, in which the development vector has not always been sufficiently definitively elucidated. Therefore the view which insists on the continuing ambivalence of the state structural edifice (and rejected by G. K. Shirokov) has its foundations.

But the "capitalist vestments" enveloping all economic structures in developing countries indeed exist. These vestments encompass inclusion within the world capitalist economy and various linkages: economic, political, sociopsychological, and others. As the author shows in an interesting and in many ways novel manner, it is they which stimulate development in a specified direction, and it is they which erect difficult barriers in its path.

G. K. Shirokov's book is written in a political-economy vein, on a high level of theoretical abstraction. The multilevel idea, which reveals quite diversified causes and effects, linkages and relationships, is presented in a compact manner, within the book's comparatively limited space, in a form graspable by the reader. Employing a somewhat trite but in this case appropriate comparison, one can liken it to the tip of an iceberg; theoretical analysis of the problem is based on a vast amount of factual material, through which G. K. Shirokov



moves freely and knowledgeably (specialists in the field are well acquainted with his previous publications) and which remains in a supporting role, as it were.

But there are certain inherent shortcomings alongside the considerable virtues of this type of study, which is rare in our Eastern studies: the reader must accept a number of statements on faith, especially in logical premises and comparisons. As a rule the author's constructs appear convincing, but in several instances doubts and objections may arise. For example, increasing the organic structure of capital in conditions of contemporary capitalism is not an absolutely prevailing trend (see pp 165-166). Increased effectiveness of societal production can be achieved in the same measure by savings both in constant and variable capital, and only on the basis of calculations can one reveal the resultant of diversified influences both in developed capitalist and in developing countries in each historical segment.

Although the conclusion that there are limited possibilities for formation of state monopoly capitalism in the East seems valid, and the approach to assessment of the evolution and prospects of the economic functions of the state in developing countries is well reasoned and realistic, interpretation of this group of issues, as one can grasp from certain comments in the text, corresponds to a view of state-monopoly capitalism in the West which was predominant in Soviet literature up to the recent writings of Ye. S. Varga, which reduced state-monopoly capitalism merely to "coalescence of the interests of the state and the monopolies" and which refused to see its broader and more conflictive social foundation (see pp 184-188). Enhancement of the role of the social functions of the state, with all the differences involved, is characteristic not only of developing countries; comparison of the East and West from this angle could provide a great deal for analysis of the mechanisms of contemporary world development.

The thesis of a sharp attenuation of the "effect of external ideology on the bulk of the population" after attaining independence also seems to be excessively categorical (page 70). The factors to which the author points are important, but one can cite an equally large list of factors which operate in the opposite direction. In addition, the "effect of external ideology" on the masses living in conditions of a traditional economy and traditional way of life (large-scale erosion of which did not begin until after the collapse of colonialism) was certainly not particularly great. Obviously resolution of this issue is not unequivocal and requires concrete sociological investigation.

This study, which raises a number of complex and relevant questions pertaining to the main, predominant trends of socioeconomic development in the East, cannot help but evoke debate -- and herein lies one of its principal virtues. While giving exceptionally high overall marks to G. K. Shirokov's book, the reviewer has endeavored to note certain theoretical areas further discussion of which seems important and useful.

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## BOOK ON BACKGROUND TO IRANIAN REVOLUTION REVIEWED

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[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the subheading "Reviews," by V. I. Maksimenko: "S. L. Agayev. Iran in the Past and Present (Paths and Forms of the Revolutionary Process)"\*; passages highlighted by use of double-spaced words enclosed in slantlines]

[Text] On 12 February 1979, when Teheran Radio, following a 3-day armed uprising in Teheran, broadcast a communiqué from the Military Operations Headquarters of the Provisional Islamic Government, announcing the victory of the revolution, this was not a simple report from the battlefield: on this day "Iran entered a new era."<sup>1</sup> As S. L. Agayev correctly notes, the Islamic Republic of Iran, which emerged from the 1979 Revolution, is "the most unique phenomenon of the last quarter of the 20th century."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the accelerated, bold capitalist modernization of the Shah's Iran in the 1960's, risky to the point of adventurism, brought this ancient country to a popular antimonarchic revolution with elements of anticapitalism, on the foundation of which, for the first time in modern history, a theocratic Shiite regime arose, which does not shun external forms of bourgeois democracy and modern methods of mobilizing the masses.

Analysis of such a major event as the Iranian Revolution, which does not yield to unequivocal appraisals, requires earnest mobilization of Marxist theoretical thought. This book by S. L. Agayev is the first attempt in the Soviet literature at the monograph approach to accomplishing this task.

"In revolutions, just as in counterrevolutions and civil wars," stated U.S. historian Barrington Moore Junior, "there comes a critical moment when people suddenly realize that they have irrevocably broken with that world which they knew and in which they had lived all their lives. For certain classes and individuals this momentary flash of a new and fearful truth has been prepared in advance, however, by the gradual decline of the old system."<sup>3</sup> The February Revolution in Iran was also prepared for by its own past, by the gradual decay of that system which arose on the foundation of Iran's semicolonial dependence and repeated attempts to change it in a series of "revolutions from above." One of the principal tasks which S. L. Agayev has set for himself is to trace the

\* S. L. Agayev, "Iran v proshlom i nastoyashchem. (Puti i formy revolyutsionnogo protsessa)," Moscow, Glav. red. vost. lit-ry izd-va Nauka, 1981, 271 pages.

linkage between Iran's past and present and to trace the sources of the trends which are in evidence in this country today. The book's second important task is to reveal, by comparison with the history of other countries and eras, processes which are typologically close to the Iranian processes, formulating on this basis general sociological Marxian tools for comparative analysis of revolutions.

S. L. Agayev's book makes a strong impression. This is a broad-brush contribution to Iranian studies, filled with new information (the author utilizes, for example, little-known Iranian documents from the G. V. Plekhanov archives, presents materials discovered by the author in British Government archives, etc). Analyzing the paths and forms of the revolutionary process in one country, the author at the same time endeavors not to lose sight of the world-historical context of the era, which revolutionized Iran "from without" to no less a degree than "from within." A departure from thinking by inertia, bold analogies, and a feeling of the necessity to rise above empirical facts, without which there can be no understanding of the facts proper -- all this is contained in this book.

S. L. Agayev's book is multiple-aspect and intended for various readerships. The general reader will find it interesting and even fascinating (a guarantee of this is the liveliness and popular approach at the book's descriptive level), and it will attract strong attention on the part of historians and sociologists. One reader will be enthralled by the pages dealing with the campaign of the Cossack division of Colonel Reza Khan on Teheran and with the changing political fortunes of Mossadegh, as well as the magnetic personality of Khomeini, while another will concentrate on the author's theoretical constructs, within the framework of which he introduces the historical events. The book's diversity of subject matter and even somewhat mixed character demand rigorous selectivity on the part of the reviewer; therefore we are forced to limit ourselves to an examination of just a few conceptual aspects of this monograph. The following would seem to be the most important and relevant among them: a sociological interpretation of the term "revolution from above"; a description of the "specific type of production relations" (page 33) which were established in Iran toward the end of the 19th century and which continued to exist up to the 1960's; appraisal of the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Just this extremely brief list of issues addressed by S. L. Agayev indicates the considerable scope of his book.

"Revolution from above" and the new "correlation between reform and revolution" embodied in it (page 7) are among the author's comparatively long-held scholarly interests.<sup>4</sup> S. L. Agayev has a priority status among Soviet Orientalists in elaboration of this topic, which occupies an important place in the monograph. An attractive point of his position is the fact that he, not satisfied with a broad belles lettres interpretation of the term "revolution from above," insists on the need to differentiate this type of reform both from mass popular revolutions and from coups d'etat (palace revolts), as well as from any other broad program of government reforms. "Revolution from above" is a particular and historically dependent (and therefore historically restricted) case of revolutionary change, and S. L. Agayev is absolutely correct in our opinion in linking the possibility of "revolution from above" with the occurrence of the phenomenon of "secondary" capitalist development in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and subsequently Japan (see pp 5-6).

Analyzing the radical policies of Reza Shah in Iran in the 1920's which reorganized the political edifice of the old despotic regime on the new foundation of a centralized military-bureaucratic state, and then the "white revolution" of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (in the 1960's), which opened up the possibility of "accelerated capitalist modernization of that country, unprecedented in the history of the developing nations of Asia and Africa" (page 254), S. L. Agayev correctly stresses that on each occasion the possibility of "revolution from above" was engendered not by the political "genius" of the absolute monarch or his entourage, but was won by a mass revolutionary movement "from below." Also accurate and interesting is the author's conclusion that final victory of the "revolution from above" in Iran was blocked in the 1960's and 1970's by the conditions of "tertiary" capitalist development, which revealed the "particular difference in vector thrust" (page 254) of revolutionary movements "from below" and "from above." In this sense the popular revolution in Iran, colored in the green hues of Islam, brought forth a final verdict against the Shah's "white revolution" as an attempt to "draw" Iran directly into capitalism. It demonstrated the bankruptcy of "revolution from above" at the present stage of world development (in any case in its known variants) as a mode of transforming a developing country into a capitalist country. S. L. Agayev does not draw such a conclusion, but it seems to us that the logic of his analysis speaks for itself.

The historical context, the general conditions and preconditions for accomplishing a "revolution from above" are presented by the author in a convincing manner. What sociohistorical content does he put into this term? S. L. Agayev considers, first of all, "implementation of bourgeois reforms by sociopolitical forces which are nonbourgeois in origin" (page 6) and, secondly, the revolutionary nature of the methods of "implementation of a reformist way of accomplishing the objective tasks of social progress" (page 8) to be root attributes of any "revolution from above." The following question remains unanswered: are any forces which are "nonbourgeois in origin" (a military-feudal bureaucracy? big landowners? an absolute and "enlightened" monarch?) capable of conceiving of and carrying out a "revolution from above," and what moves them thereby? It seems to us, however, that there is another, more important omission in S. L. Agayev's scheme.

The phenomenon of "revolution from above" in the world revolutionary process of the latter half of the 19th-20th centuries is treated in the book as an upheaval which is /reformist in aims/, carried out /by revolutionary means/ (see pp 607). On this point our assessment does not agree with that of the author, who cites Bismarck in this instance: both the "royal Prussian revolutionary" (as Engels characterized Bismarck) and other protagonists of "revolutions from above" represented their policies as reformist action, also resorting "to revolutionary means in an extreme case."<sup>5</sup> This representation notwithstanding, in our opinion "revolution from above" is exactly the opposite: it is /revolution by means of reform/ (that is, something fundamentally new in comparison with the era of the classic bourgeois revolutions), becoming possible exclusively due to the lessons of "preceding explosive outbursts of class struggle and revolutionary movements" (page 6); at the same time it is a /reactionary act of forestalling/ (successful or not -- that is another question) a crushing revolution "from below." Herein lies the significance of the sophisticated



Marxian formula "program of revolution in the hands of reaction"<sup>6</sup> (in this instance reaction "annexes," intercepts a revolutionary program, making it, to quote Marx, a "lethal weapon"<sup>7</sup> against the revolutionaries by embodying it in reaction's own manner — coercively, in caricature fashion, "in a reactionary manner").

A "revolution from above" is a revolution (and not a reformist upheaval) to the extent that it changes both the structure of production relations and the super-structure edifice; it is accomplished by means of reform (not excluding violence) to the extent that it is not accompanied by the classic "ruling class"- "overthrowing class" confrontation,<sup>8</sup> and it is characterized rather by /forced self-change/ by the ruling class. This process within the ruling class is forced not only in the sense that in the final analysis it is caused by the threat of revolutionary explosion by the masses, but also in the sense that it takes place directly under the pressure of the /state,/ which in this instance is capable of operating relatively autonomously, in the role of "arbiter" (models of absolutism and Bonapartism, formulated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, proceed from this capability of the autocratic state for social arbitration in transitional eras). Thus organized violence on the part of the relatively autonomous state is advanced in "revolutions from above" as a counterbalance to spontaneous revolutionary violence by the masses.

Unfortunately S. L. Agayev narrows his own position when he concludes a reformist essence of "revolutions from above" from the assumption that they express the interests "chiefly of the old ruling class" (page 6), although he further states the need for this class "to proceed with changing its own social nature" (page 8). Thus on examination the old ruling class proves to be not quite and not entirely "old." The point is that any "revolution from above," even an unsuccessful one, changes the contours of social dominance: it produces a class change and is itself produced on the foundation of such a change. Very important in this regard is the term "specific type of production relations" (page 33), which is introduced and analyzed by S. L. Agayev; it is by means of this that an internal linkage is established between "revolution from above" and the "secondary" ("tertiary") development of capitalism.

The drawing of Iran into the orbit of the world capitalist market toward the middle of the 19th century, with its subsequent transformation into a semi-colonial territory, fostered the formation of production relations in that country (not feudal, but also not capitalist), the most important components of which were a peasant economy based on small-scale sharecropping with a serfdom dependence on the landowner, and trade-usurer capital.

The difference between "early" and "late" capitalism noted by S. L. Agayev (see pp 42-43) is extremely important. There occur in history fatal cases of "being late," when the essential conditions are lacking which make it possible to follow a path trod by others. This is the case with "late" capitalism, which can be only /different,/ can develop only /differently/, with the probability of transformation into /something totally different/ in comparison with its classic European prototypes. In conditions of "late" development of the functions of capital, which are established in a trade-usury (not production) form, there occurs not transformation of economic affairs on the basis of a



single national market with sequential separation of the immediate producers from the means of production, but rather a comprador linkage with international capital and serf exploitation of peasants (via a stratum of intermediaries), with preservation of preindustrial agrarian production. The "specific type of production relations" is primarily and chiefly /specifically stagnant/. It contains no internal preconditions for transformation to capitalism, and in this sense it contains nothing which is inherently "transitional." We can entirely agree with S. L. Agayev when he cites in this connection an important comment by K. Marx pertaining to the domination of commercial capital over production: "This pathway does not per se lead to an upheaval in the old mode of production, since it rather /preserves and maintains it as its precondition/"<sup>9</sup> (our emphasis -- V. M.).

The literature usually stresses the "exogenous nature" of production relations, which form under the influence of external factors. We must state, however, that serfdom and primitive agriculture at one pole and the dominance (via the domain of exchange) of international capital at the other have a tendency to form a /new social internal structure/, within the framework of which are reproduced backwardness of productive forces and a semicolonial (neocolonial) dependence of the "late-capitalist" state on the imperialist powers. In these conditions the figure of the "crowned revolutionary" and attempts at "revolution from above" bear essential and logical traits.

S. L. Agayev characterizes the dynastic upheaval of 1925 and establishment of the Pahlavi Dynasty in Iran as a first attempt at "revolution from above" in that country. The centralized military-bureaucratic dictatorship which arose in place of the old monarchy advanced the task of national integration and capitalist modernization of the semitraditional Iranian society. What was the result of this modernizing policy of Reza Shah? The author reaches an important conclusion that it produced "opposite results" (page 98). The introduction of a foreign trade monopoly, protectionism, and other measures directed toward encouraging indigenous capitalist entrepreneurship "from above," in the final analysis led not to the development of capitalism of the Western model but rather to a situation where "commercial capital retained and even expanded its position as an independent form of capital, dominating production" (page 98). The author is right: in evidence here was the "dead-end nature of the socioeconomic evolution of Iran" (page 100). The point, however, is not that elements of capitalism imposed "from above" held back and strangled entrepreneurship "from below" -- capitalism cannot be introduced other than "from above" into a social structure built on serfdom relations -- but (here is the contradiction!) each such attempt to give impetus to the development of capitalism produced newer and stronger obstacles in the path of actual capitalist transformation, generating powerful /social resistance to the reforms/. Elements of the new relations did not simply "enter into a deformed coexistence with traditional relations" (page 251) thereby, but they proved from the very beginning to be distorted and deformed by the influence of the semitraditional environment, which acquired in this "symbiosis" an even larger scale and an additional source of vitality. For example, political parties which were modern in their external attributes became filled with the content of "medieval sects" (page 57), government commercial agencies established in Iran in the 1930's for the purpose of combating commercial-usurer capital were virtually

"expropriated" by it, becoming another instrument of capital (see pp 99-101), etc. All these processes are expressively described in S. L. Agayev's book.

An important contribution made by the author is the fact that he demonstrates with concrete material how capitalist modernization "from above" in conditions of a "specific type of production relations" renders itself without foundation, revolutionizing and setting against itself the masses, the social heterogeneity of which gives way to a common hostility toward the elite capitalist clique and the dictatorial military-bureaucratic state which is imposing it. As a result one of the most grandiose modernizing attempts in the contemporary East ("white revolution"), producing this conflict in an extremely acute form, suffered a crushing defeat in the 1979 revolution.

The Shah's policies of the 1960's and 1970's, with its harsh police control and repressive pressure brought to bear by the centralized bureaucratic state, and vast corruption, which had become a "shadow" national institution (and which is a necessary element of societal accumulation and consumption with this type of development), economic miscalculations connected with the myth of the panacea of industrialization and, finally, the catastrophically widening gap between economic growth and social progress -- all this could not help but produce massive resistance to the Shah's "revolution from above." The evolving Iranian society responded to it with an "Islamic" revolution "from below," in which, to quote the author, "the green banner of Islam gave an ideological foundation to the popular struggle against dictatorship and imperialism," while the Shiite organization performed the role of "cementing element of the entire diversified opposition comprised of Iranian antidictator and anti-imperialist circles" (page 186).

The book presents an analysis of the factors which "Islamicized" the revolution in Iran, although in somewhat condensed form (pp 182-186). We must assume that this most important subject will be given fuller treatment in the author's future writings. We shall note at this point that in our opinion there is some correspondence (not so much ideological or social as anthropological in nature) between the total nature of revolutionary negation embodied in the movement of the Iranian masses and the total nature of Islam, which appeals to the entirety of man, offering him answers to all questions -- from the details of one's daily life to the cosmic structure of being. This is a hypothesis, of course, but we can speak with certainty about the fact of "different vectorial thrust" of revolutions "from above" and "from below" stressed by S. L. Agayev (see pp 253-254). The "program of revolution in the hands of reaction" which the Shah embodied engendered an alternative in the form of a massive radical-revolutionary wave of protest, in which were conflictively merged the plebeian opposition of the semiproletarianized masses as a "living symptom of the disintegration" of the old system, the "chiliastic dreams" of the Shiite clergy, an odd mixture of the egalitarian, anticapitalist and extreme reactionary aspirations of the bazaar, the liberal hopes of the intellectuals and the professional military, as well as many other elements. We quote below a passage from "Peasant War in Germany" by F. Engels, who once wrote: "This aspiration to go beyond not only the present but the future as well could be nothing but fantasy, only violence to reality, and the very first attempt to accomplish its practical achievement had to put the movement back."<sup>10</sup> This is also precisely what happened in post-revolutionary Iran, which had entered, as S. L. Agayev

shows at the very end of the book, a general period of crisis development, when "terror and violence hung like a dark cloud over the country's entire political and social life" (page 248). Nevertheless, regardless of whether the movement of 1978-1979 in Iran was "set back," it is premature to draw a final conclusion: "The last page in the contemporary history of the Islamic Republic of Iran," the author stresses, "still remains open" (page 248).

This book is a necessary, highly informative, and very relevant work, which carries a substantial heuristic charge. Although it does show traces of haste, and accurate descriptions sometimes occur side by side with hurried comparisons, in the final analysis the fact that the case is not yet closed and that the subject is of the keenest political relevancy give a predisposition for this; this is a topic which requires, as S. L. Agayev in fact did, avoidance of abstract, unpractical schemes, tedious theoretical elaboration lacking practical significance, which diminishes the subject, and stereotyped conclusions. The result is publication of a striking and unique study, which the reader will read with unabating interest.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. P. Balta and C. Rulleau, "L'Iran insurgé" [Iran in Rebellion], Paris, 1979, page 95.
2. "Sovremennyy Iran. Sotsial'no-politicheskiye problemy revolyutsii" [Contemporary Iran. Sociopolitical Problems of the Revolution], Moscow, INION, 1982, page 5.
3. B. Moore, Jr., "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World," Boston, 1966, page 100.
4. See S. L. Agayev, "'Revolution From Above': Genesis and Pathways of Development," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 11, 1976, pp 74-85; Agayev, "The Meiji Period: Revolution or Reform? (A Historical-Typological Analysis)," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 2, 1978, pp 67-79; Agayev, "'Revolution From Above': Substance of Structure and Formality of Structuralism," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 5, 1980, pp 214-219.
5. O. Bismark, "Mysli i vospominaniya" [Thoughts and Reminiscences], Vol 2, Moscow, 1940, pp 54-55.
6. K. Marks and F. Engel's, "Sochineniya" [Writings], Vol 13, page 432.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., Vol 3, page 70.
9. Ibid., Vol 25, Part 1, page 367.
10. Ibid., Vol 7, page 363.

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## BOOK ON HISTORY OF KAZAKH ASSOCIATION WITH RUSSIA REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 190-192

[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the sub-heading "Book Briefs," by A. M. Model': "Together Forever. 250th Anniversary of the Voluntary Annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia"\*)]

[Text] On 10 October 1731 27 Kazakh leaders placed their signature on a declaration of voluntary annexation of the Mladshiy Zhuz [Younger Horde] -- the first large area of Kazakhstan -- to Russia. The 250th anniversary of commencement of this historic process of joining the Russian State by all the Kazakh lands, which became complete in the 1860's, was recently widely celebrated in the Soviet Union.

A prominent place among the events devoted to this important date was occupied by the All-Union Scientific-Theoretical Conference "The Progressive Role of Russia in the Historical Destiny of the Peoples of Kazakhstan," held in September 1981 in Alma-Ata, capital of the Kazakh SSR. Prominent scholars from Moscow, a number of union and autonomous republics, civic and government leaders, party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic officials, production leaders, and students took part in the conference. More than 60 papers and reports were presented at the conference, dealing with the most diversified problems and aspects of historical development. All these materials are contained in the reviewed volume.<sup>1</sup>

Kazakhstan's voluntary annexation to Russia was of great historical significance; analysis of its preconditions, principal specific traits and the features of its occurrence is of considerable scholarly interest. The papers and reports submitted by the participants in the conference represent a collection and synthesis of a vast quantity of factual material, which enables the reader to obtain an overall complete picture of all issues addressed. As was noted at the conference, unification of the peoples of our country with the Russian people was a logical culmination of the logical process of development of the historical relations which had long existed between peoples.

\* "Naveki vmeste. K 250-letiyu dobrovol'nogo prisoyedineniya Kazakhstana k Rossii," Alma-Ata, Izd-vo Nauka Kazakhskoy SSR, 1982, 436 pages.



Papers presented in the "Historical Preconditions for Unification of the Peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia With Russia" section characterized the state of the economy, politics, cultural and economic relations of Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Western Siberia, and Bashkiria on the eve of annexation of the peoples of these regions to Russia and demonstrated its objective necessity.

The participants in the conference devoted principal attention to analysis of the process of unification of peoples and Russia's progressive role in their historical destinies. As was noted in the "Annexation of the Peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia to Russia and Its Progressive Significance" section, following annexation of Western Siberia to the Moscow Principality, Russian-Kazakh trade and cultural contacts became more intensive. It was primarily the toiling people who were interested in the development of economic ties, those people who were suffering from the arbitrary rule of the czarist appointed officials on the one hand and from raids by local feudal lords on the other.

The Dzungarian Khanate, established in the mid-17th century on the eastern boundaries of the Kazakh lands, presented a mortal danger to the Kazakh people. Frequent bandit raids from across the border were greatly detrimental to the lives and property of the population. It was in these conditions that the Kazakh masses, as well as the most sagacious representatives of the khanate's ruling circles, recognizing the growing threat of enslavement and the danger of continuation of feudal internecine strife, pressed for strengthening alliance with Russia and subsequently for becoming Russian subjects.

The voluntary annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia was a highly progressive process in its historical consequences, which delivered the peoples of Kazakhstan from danger of enslavement first by the Dzungarian Khanate, and later -- in the 18th century -- by Manchu-Chinese conquerors, but most important -- it brought the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into Russia's revolutionary movement.

As USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member B. A. Tulepbayev, vice-president of the KASSR AS, stated in his presentation, it took some time for an objective scientific appraisal of this event to be formulated in Soviet historiography. Frequently, for example, historians would place emphasis on the colonial and conquest aspirations of czarism, perceiving Kazakhstan's annexation to Russia as a "least evil," one-sidedly taking into consideration only the factor of national-colonial oppression and failing to attach proper significance to such an exceptionally important factor as the significance of the struggle of the Russian worker class against all manifestations of ethnic and social oppression (pp 50-52). Soviet historical science was also able successfully to overcome another extreme -- "examination solely of the progressive consequences of annexation, while ignoring and even embellishing the policies of czarism and their colonialist essence. Some scholars, for example, quite seriously sought to demonstrate the objectively progressive role of the 'Russian Government,' that is, czarism, while denying the national-liberation character of almost all movements by the toiler masses of Kazakhstan in the prerevolutionary period" (page 51).

The presentations at the conference demonstrated persuasively, employing a large amount of factual material, that czarism brought to the Kazakh people

national-colonial oppression, which was combined with oppression by the local exploiters -- feudal lords and capitalists. The dialectic of the historical process as applied to Kazakhstan consisted in the fact that, alongside negative phenomena connected with intensification of national and social oppression, other processes were also developing, which had an objectively progressive thrust. In addition to salvation from the threat of foreign invasion and enslavement, bringing to an end the feudal fractionalization as a result of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia was of considerable importance, as was bringing to an end the protracted and devastating internecine wars which were ravishing the Kazakh lands, destroying productive resources, and impeding the region's economic and cultural development.

The gradual drawing of the economy of the Kazakhs into the orbit of the capitalist system of the Russian empire had diversified consequences. Trade centers and towns arose. The Kazakh nomads began shifting to agriculture and a settled way of life. Social differentiation became accelerated, particularly in the Kazakh aul [village]. The first enterprises of the primary extraction, processing, and other industries were established. The development of capitalism was gradually undermining the patriarchal-feudal underpinnings and was fostering the development of national self-awareness, intensification of class differentiation among the toilers, and helped overcome the dominance of tribal ideology. All this was leading to the breakdown of national introversion and ethnocentrism.

Contacts between the indigenous detachment of Kazakhstan's worker class on the one hand and workers arriving from Russia's industrial areas on the other, with many of the latter members of the RSDWP [Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party], were highly beneficial. Revolutionary ideas came with them, penetrating the towns, villages, and auls of Kazakhstan. The worker class and peasantry of Kazakhstan (which was also coming into contact with Russian settlers) were uniting with their Russian brothers for joint struggle against their common oppressors.

Many materials in the reviewed volume present an analysis of that enormous progressive significance which acquaintance with the progressive democratic Russian world culture had for Kazakhstan thanks to its annexation to Russia. As many speakers at the conference emphasized, contact with the rich intellectual heritage of the Kazakh people in turn had a beneficial effect on outstanding representatives of progressive Russian culture. The activities of eminent Kazakh scholars and educators Chokan Valikhanov, and Ibray Altynsarin, great Kazakh poet Abay Kunanbayev, and others who did a great deal to acquaint their people with the achievements of the vanguard Russian culture were described in detail in this connection.

The antifeudal, national-liberation and revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia for their national and social liberation from the arbitrary rule of their oppressors was steadily expanding and growing under the influence of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat. This struggle reached its apogee at the beginning of the 20th century. The Kazakh toilers actively participated, together with all the oppressed peoples of Russia, in the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1905-1907 and

the February Revolution of 1917, and subsequently in the Great October Socialist Revolution. Supported by the assistance of the Russian people, and under the guidance of the Communist Party, they threw off the yoke of czarism, the rule of the landowners, capitalists and feudal lords, and established Soviet rule.

The materials of the "Great October Revolution -- Turning Point in the Historical Development of Kazakhstan and Central Asia" section comprehensively addressed such important problems as the establishment of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan -- a fighting detachment of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the participation of the Kazakh aul in the socialist revolution, the historical experience and social significance of root socialist reforms in industry, agriculture, and in the social structure of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Characterizing the international significance of this experience, the conference participants noted that resolution in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan of such crucial problems for young liberated nations as the agrarian-peasant question, development of industry, establishment of indigenous worker class cadres, organization of economic planning and management of the economy, change to a settled way of life by nomads, resolution of the nationalities question and the language problem in a multiethnic country, accomplishment of a cultural revolution, training of indigenous cadres, plus many other issues can be of particular interest to the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and particularly for those which have chosen a socialist orientation.

"The experience of building socialism in Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia," stressed USSR AS Corresponding Member K. K. Karakeyev, "has incontrovertibly proved not only the importance of accelerated development of previously backward peoples and the possibility of transition to socialism by these peoples, bypassing capitalism, but also has defined the concrete pathways, forms and methods of this process. We see the significance of our experience in building socialism primarily in this. Of course development of a number of countries in Asia and Africa along a noncapitalist path is not a repetition, and particularly not a copying of the experience of the Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. Being Marxist-Leninists, we realize that each new era engenders a vast variety of forms and methods of societal development, but this does not diminish the significance of the experience of the Soviet republics" (pp 274-275).

The post-October period in the history of the Kazakh people is a most vivid evidence of the great vital strength of the Leninist nationalities policy. The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic -- a full and equal member of the fraternal family of Soviet republics -- has become a region of an advanced, highly-developed economy and culture. The selfless assistance rendered to Kazakhstan by the Russian people and the other brother peoples of the Soviet Union has helped it overcome enormous economic backwardness in a short historical period of time. A priority rate of economic development, much higher than the USSR average, was provided for Kazakhstan, just as for other previously backward regions. Taking into consideration first and foremost the existence of an exceptionally rich mineral-raw materials base in this republic, a unique industrial complex was formed in Kazakhstan. The republic's industrial output volume has increased by a factor of 4.3 just in the last two decades, that is,

figuratively speaking, three additional industrial Kazakhstans have arisen. The radical transformation of this republic's agriculture in recent decades has been based on development and exploitation of 25 million hectares of Kazakhstan virgin and long-fallow land, a project of unprecedented scale in the history of agriculture. Animal husbandry has been growing intensively together with grain production.

The presentations by participants in the "Friendship of Peoples and Flourishing of the Economy and Culture of Kazakhstan" section were filled with vivid, concrete factual material. Alongside analyzing the principal stages of economic development in this republic, the papers profoundly reveal the radical changes which have taken place in the social structure of society. From the very outset the young worker class formed as a socialist worker class. Today workers comprise approximately 70 percent of all employed persons, with more than a million Kazakh workers. A large detachment of agricultural workers was established in the virgin-land areas. Worker skill levels are rising, and their sociopolitical activeness is increasing.

Enormous changes are also taking place among the kolkhoz peasantry. There has been a substantial decrease in the percentage of kolkhoz farmers who are unskilled workers, and there has been a sharp increase in the total numbers and percentage share of farm machinery operators, who now comprise 22 percent of all kolkhoz farmers. The ranks of the intelligentsia are growing steadily. In 1922 there were 20,000 persons in this republic engaged primarily in intellectual labor, while today they total more than 2 million.

All these and other changes in the social structure have led to transformation of the entire indigenous way of life, toward the establishment of new values, and to attainment of a new, substantially higher level of satisfaction of people's material and spiritual needs.

The section materials reveal the role and place of the international factor in the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and, in particular, in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, which have become a genuine "linguistic laboratory" in which members of more than 120 of our country's peoples and ethnic groups live and work.

The papers and reports by the participants at the All-Union Scientific-Theoretical Conference collected in the reviewed volume persuasively demonstrate that the internationalist assistance of the victorious proletariat, the alliance between the worker class and the peasantry, and leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party enable peoples, regardless of what stage of precapitalist relations at which they may be, to accomplish that which is unachievable under other conditions -- to overcome within a historically short period of time that enormous distance separating them from the most highly developed nations, and to come apace with them. The lasting value of the Soviet experience lies in this.



FOOTNOTE

1. Overall editor, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member B. A. Tulepbayev. In charge of publication -- Doctor of Historical Sciences V. A. Kumanev and Corresponding Member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences R. B. Suleymenov.

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## U.S. BOOK ON SOVIET THIRD-WORLD POLICY CRITICIZED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 192-194

[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the subheading "Book Briefs," by V. A. Kremen'yuk: "Soviet Policy in Developing Countries"\*)]

[Text] Study of USSR policy toward developing countries has been a rather fashionable topic in bourgeois historical and economics literature of recent years. Reflecting the increasing attention on the part of ruling circles of imperialist powers, and the United States in particular, in what is happening today in the world of liberated nations, these studies as a rule pursue the aim of "scholarly" support for the main thesis of imperialist propaganda, according to which all changes taking place in developing countries which are not to the liking of the West can be allegedly traced to Soviet influence and "subversive activities."

In this regard any monograph by bourgeois experts in which this thesis constitutes a premise, even if not the main premise, cannot help but draw attention. On the whole the reviewed monograph can be assigned to this category, although it was written by a quite diversified makeup of authors, who include such proven anti-Soviets as University of Illinois professor Roger Kenneth, CIA employees Ora Cooper and Carol Fogerty, and well-known liberal scholar and public figure Fred Warner Neal.

The principal intention of the book's authors, as the editor, W. Raymond Duncan, notes in the foreword, is to examine the "general influence which the Third World exerts on the contest in Soviet-American relations, which in large measure determine the state of contemporary international relations" (page 3). And W. Duncan states as the purpose of the study a desire to find ways to achieve cooperation between the USSR and the United States, which "is urgently necessary not only to cool down international conflicts in the nuclear age but also because it is essential for solving the fundamental global problems facing our countries and the entire Third World in the last two decades of the 20th century" (page 9).

\* "Sovetskaya politika v otnoshenii razvivayushchikhsya stran," edited by W. Raymond Duncan, Huntington (N.Y.). Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1981, 254 pages.

The monograph consists of three parts, each of which is divided into three chapters. The first part examines the evolution of USSR policy in the area of relations with developing countries, including such issues as Soviet aid (this chapter is one of the most tendentious in the entire book and is written by above-mentioned CIA employees O. Cooper and C. Fogerty) and policy of the European socialist countries toward liberated nations. The second part discusses specific key problems of Soviet assistance to the peoples of Indochina during the years of their struggle against the colonialists and U.S. imperialism, cooperation between the USSR and socialist Cuba in handling certain problems pertaining to assistance to liberation movements, and Soviet policy toward the Persian Gulf countries in light of the world energy crisis. The third part groups together several appraisals of Soviet studies on problems of developing countries and contains a concluding chapter by F. W. Neal on the interlinkage between détente and Soviet-American relations pertaining to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

As already noted, the book is written in very uneven fashion. A sharp debate is conducted among the authors of the individual chapters: some take the position of the conservative grouping within ruling circles and correspondingly examine all problems of Soviet policy through the prism of the imperialist interests of the big monopolies, which demand a constant and uncompromising struggle against the influence of the Soviet Union on the young liberated nations; others advocate, if not moderation and caution, at least realism in one's approach to assessing USSR policy and its influence on the position of the United States in developing countries.

This debate naturally goes far beyond the framework of a monograph. It reflects a considerably broader disposition of forces in the United States on problems of Soviet-American relations and policy in regard to liberated nations. The monograph authors, holding different views in this debate, do not soften their position or smooth over disagreements. They present their debate for the public to judge, as it were, suggesting that the reader examine and weigh all pros and cons in their positions and state his own view on the issue.

The positions taken by the book's authors are grouped around the principal problems being debated. Conservative authors take an alarmist position, posing the question of the danger of "Soviet penetration" of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the aims of which, in their opinion, are to "damage" and "undermine" the position of the West. "Moscow's main political goals remain unchanged," write O. Cooper and C. Fogerty, "to weaken the position of the West and to push the West out; to counter the Chinese challenge in leadership of national liberation movements; and, finally, to convince Third World countries that Soviet communism represents the only real possibility to solve their economic problems" (page 11).

The authors write essentially openly about what concerns Washington and the capitals of the other imperialist powers the most in connection with events in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There is taking place in these countries a steady process of weakening of the position of imperialism, strengthening of independent governmental and social structures of the young independent countries, and the search for new, progressive paths of development,

including a path of socialist orientation. All this cannot help but concern imperialist ruling circles, since it directly or indirectly enters the domain of the global correlation of forces between the two world systems, weakening the position of imperialism.

Therefore primary emphasis is placed on the thesis of "interference by Moscow," which in the opinion of some of the monograph's authors may also play a role in the making of far-fetched complaints against the USSR as well as in the open struggle against all trends and processes in liberated countries which are not to the liking of the West: from ideas about a new international economic order to revolutionary upheavals and changes.

In this regard such materials in the book as the chapters on assistance by the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist nations to liberated countries, the U.S. interpretation of the Soviet policy of assistance to the brother people of Vietnam during the years of war against the aggressors (in the chapter by A. Cameron), and certain others are directly intended to confirm the thesis of Soviet "penetration," its "subversive" role in liberated countries, and that it is precisely the Soviet assistance which is that key factor which counters the establishment of a U.S. neocolonialist "order" in the developing countries.

Even while acknowledging undeniable facts of the positive significance of assistance by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for development of the industry and agriculture of such countries as India, Syria, Egypt, Nigeria, and a number of others, the authors of a conservative persuasion endeavor to present it as "selfish" concern by the socialist countries for their own welfare. Analyzing assistance by socialist countries to developing nations, R. Kenneth writes, for example, that one can see that they are "more interested in achieving the potential of the developing world in order to stabilize and strengthen the CEMA economy than in solving any other problems which affect the interests of the Third World proper" (page 56).

In principle the hostile and prejudiced approach to Soviet policy toward the developing nations is characteristic of virtually all the book's authors. It is hard to find an exception among them, for all authors share the traditional American view of developing nations as a natural and practically preordained "raw material reserve" for the United States. Therefore any "intrusion" by outsiders into this domain is not to the liking of the monograph's authors, U.S. bourgeois political scientists.

A call to consider certain actual circumstances which have formed in developing countries is another thing altogether. A. Cameron, mentioned above as author of the chapter on Soviet assistance to the peoples of Indochina, addresses for a reason at the end of his chapter the ticklish subject of "post-Vietnam syndrome" and reluctance by Americans to be drawn into a "second Vietnam" as a result of ill-conceived interference in the affairs of young nations (page 104). The book's editor, R. Duncan, in his chapter on the policy of aid to the liberation movement on the part of the USSR and Cuba, mentions the existence of genuine interests on the part of the socialist countries in the area of supporting the liberation struggle of peoples and in ensuring their own security and that of their friends and allies (pp 117-118). David Lynn Price, author of the chapter "Oil and Soviet Policy in the Persian Gulf," is also compelled to



mention the existence of specific Soviet interests in that region, both by virtue of its geographic propinquity to Soviet soil and in connection with the Soviet Union's desire to expand economic and cultural relations with the countries of the region.

This group of authors, while expressing no liking for the USSR, its allies and friends, at the same time remind ruling circles of the necessity of taking into consideration the actual situation, the main features of which in the developing countries are a desire by these countries, regardless of their orientation, to expand their international ties, to develop mutually beneficial relations with the countries of any social system, and to seek the direct or indirect support of the socialist world when their legitimate interests are infringed by imperialism. Under these circumstances it is hardly wise on the part of the United States to take a rigid and uncompromising position, placing under future threat the interests of the United States and the U.S. monopolies.

F. W. Neal makes the most complete statement on the entire range of these problems in the final chapter. "Competition," he writes, "is a form of conflict or potential conflict between superpowers. The Third World has become that arena in which this conflict is developing in one form or another. The fact that it can lead to a military confrontation, however, and, beyond that, to thermonuclear war, constitutes a great danger" (page 226).

In view of the difference in social systems, in philosophical outlooks, in ideologies, etc, F. W. Neal believes, one can hardly count on an end to competition between the two world systems. Each of them, one way or another, will exert its influence on the processes taking place in developing countries, particularly since in these countries as well there are conflicts taking place which are caused by aggravation of social, economic, political, and other problems. The author states that one cannot count on the Soviet Union remaining a power whose influence will be felt only around its borders, since the advance of the Soviet economy and growth of the defense might of the USSR have made it possible for the Soviet Union to give assistance to practically any country in Asia, Africa or Latin America which is threatened by the United States and feels it necessary to turn to the Soviet Union for support (pp 233-235).

Therefore the only intelligent path to follow, notes F. W. Neal, is not to forget the achievements of détente and to remember that this route offers realistic and mutually acceptable possibilities of avoiding clashes which, conceived on the soil of conflicts of developing nations, could threaten world peace and security. "Although the idea of renouncing competition in developing countries," the author writes, "was not formulated in final form in the process of talks on détente, it was constantly present in official agreements" (page 237).

The author denies any genuine grounds for the complaints made by the U.S. Government against the USSR under the pretext of the events in Angola, in the Horn of Africa or in Afghanistan. He considers that it was a major political error on the part of the Carter Administration to refuse to continue the process of détente in connection with the events in Afghanistan and calls for settling all disputes between the USSR and the United States by means of negotiations, in a spirit of reciprocity and consideration of the interests of both parties.

This group-authored monograph by U.S. experts is interesting in that it reflects as in a mirror virtually all the arguments and counterarguments currently being advanced in U.S. political circles on the issues of Soviet-American relations and policy in developing countries.

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## BOOK SEES ASEAN ATTEMPTING TO BLOCK SPREAD OF SOCIALISM

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 194-195

[Article, published under the heading "Criticism and Bibliography" and the sub-heading "Book Briefs," by V. V. Sigayev: "V. V. Samoylenko. 'ASEAN: Politics and Economics'"\*]

[Text] A striving to unite one's efforts in one form or another in order to protect joint political-economic interests has become a characteristic feature of the history of liberated nations following collapse of the colonial system. One example of such a uniting of efforts on a subregional basis is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which since 1967 has included Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines. The association is characterized by a complicated and conflictive road of development, but it has now become a noticeable phenomenon on the Asian continent and in international politics in general. It was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that the Soviet Union sees no obstacles in the path of establishing good-neighbor relations with the member nations of ASEAN.

The reviewed book aims to satisfy to a certain degree the logical interest not only on the part of Asian specialists but also the general reading public in the complex processes which are taking place in Southeast Asia, where the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN member countries live side by side. This is perhaps the first Soviet monograph which gives a more or less complete picture of the substance of this subregional association and which contains a multilevel analysis of its activities. The author examines the reasons for establishment of ASEAN, the history of its evolution, the content of cooperation among the five member countries in various areas, the organizational mechanism, and the association's past and present problems. One positive aspect of this study is the fact that it is based for the most part on original materials, including official sources in the ASEAN countries.

As is noted in the monograph, a major role among the internal factors resulting in establishment and development of ASEAN is played by the continuous efforts on the part of ruling circles in the "five," which have common class interests,

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\* "ASEAN: Politika i ekonomika," Moscow, Glav. red. vost. lit-ry izd-va Nauka, 1982, 192 pages.

to preserve the sociopolitical systems which are operating in the countries of the subregion and to prevent expansion of socialism's position in Southeast Asia. The reader will find in this book presentation and analysis of the concept of so-called "regional ability to resist" connected with this, a concept which has been adopted by ruling circles in the ASEAN countries as a unique theoretical basis for the association (page 38).

Changes in the policies of ASEAN and of each of the member countries are thoroughly examined by the author in a close link with external political factors which are affecting the situation in Southeast Asia. The most important of these is the transformation of a united Vietnam into an outpost of socialism and peace in this region and strengthening of the fighting unity of the three peoples of Indochina. Other substantial components of the situation in the region include an endeavor on the part of U.S. imperialism to maintain and consolidate its own position here, pressure and sometimes outright aggressive actions by the Beijing expansionists, and intensifying penetration by Japanese and Western European capital. These factors must also be considered by the leaders of the member countries in formulating the association's course of policy.

Interesting information is presented in the book on a proposal advanced by the ASEAN countries at an earlier date, in the 1970's, to establish a zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia, as well as the subsequent change in their views on the desirability and possibility of achieving this. V. V. Samoylenko notes the flexibility of the diplomacy of socialist Vietnam; adopting in principle the idea of establishing such a zone, Vietnam presented as the cornerstone of its approach to such a zone the necessity of ensuring triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbor relations in this region (pp 50-53).

A wealth of factual material, most of which is new to the Soviet reader, has been synthesized in the section on trade and economic cooperation among the ASEAN countries (pp 58-85). The author persuasively demonstrates how great are the difficulties of finding generally acceptable, compromise variants of subregional interaction in conditions where a group of developing countries chooses the capitalist road of development and continues its orientation toward the markets of the major imperialist powers. These difficulties are also greatly aggravated by the heavy legacy of the colonial past, which finds expression in the persistence of a large number of unresolved political problems (page 148).

But an even more important factor which exerts active influence on the existence of the association and, what is especially important, on its political countenance, is the relations with developed capitalist countries (the United States, Japan, the EEC countries, neighboring Australia and New Zealand) which have been forming in the present period. In the chapter dealing with this subject, which is filled with interesting and fresh facts, the author concludes that the imperialist nations, within the framework of mobile strategy, see in ASEAN a potential reserve and would plan to utilize it to secure not only their economic but also their military-political position in the Southeast Asian and Pacific region (page 141). Thus the imperialist powers are making every effort to encourage development of cooperation among the ASEAN countries in the area of



defense and security. In the final analysis the United States unquestionably would like this direction of activity by the "five" to lead to the virtual establishment of a new military alliance which, as they see it, could scarcely get along without Pentagon participation in one form or another, for two members of ASEAN -- the Philippines and Thailand -- are already bound to the United States by military agreements. As the author indicates, however, even military leaders in the ASEAN countries have a cautious attitude toward such a prospect, although objective preconditions for more active military cooperation, including within the framework of the association, unquestionably exist. Association members also must take note of apprehensions expressed regarding the future evolution of ASEAN on the part of the USSR and the nations of the socialist community, other peace-loving forces, and particularly neighboring Asian countries.

The author discusses unsuccessful attempts by member countries to formulate a common policy toward Beijing. The material is fairly eloquent, but on the whole the subject of Sino-ASEAN relations requires, we feel, deeper and fuller treatment. This applies in particular to the views of the bourgeoisie in the overseas Chinese community on the character of the association's economic development and the practical activities of overseas Chinese in this area.

The author has also failed to treat the actions of the transnational companies within the framework of ASEAN. The question of the role of the state sector in the countries of the "five," including in protecting the national interests of the association members against inroads by the transnational companies, also apparently requires special investigation and theoretical analysis.

Of course the above comments by no means diminish the virtues of this relevant and useful study.

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